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EDITORIAL

THE DISCOVERY AND EDITION OF ORIGINAL SOURCES FOR ANABAPTIST-Mennonite history continues, with repeated surprises. One of the most interesting and, in fact, astonishing discoveries of this sort is the one presented by Heinold Fast and John H. Yoder in this number, a philosophy and pattern for dealing with Anabaptists in disputations, which Heinrich Bullinger of Zurich offered to the Reformed planners of the Zofingen disputation of 1532. Here in a sense Bullinger bares his mind and heart, certainly with no thought that an Anabaptist would ever read it, contemporary or future. As the editors point out, Bullinger's epistle casts directs light on the hermeneutical methods as well as certain theological presuppositions of the state church leaders, Bullinger being at this time the head of the Zurich Reformed Church in succession to Zwingli. It was both a certain method of handling and interpreting Scripture and a certain attitude toward existing traditions and institutions which were to be employed to overthrow the Anabaptist contentions. And the Anabaptist challenges did force the Bullingers to dig deeply into their spiritual resources; how deep is clear from this epistle.

THE SECOND DISCOVERY REPORTED IN THIS ISSUE IS THAT OF THE extraordinarily rich Hutterite Codex of 1566, discovered (in the full sense, although remotely known to exist as early as 1888) by Robert Friedmann, and now reported by him to the scholarly world with a full listing of contents. Although some of the documents contained in the codex were known before from other sources, many were completely new. These new documents, together with those of the **Kunstbuch** (see **MQR** for January 1956), present a wealth of important material largely out of the second and third generations of Swiss Brethren and Hutterite history, which demand the fullest exploitation. Warm congratulations to Professor Friedmann, whose contributions to Anabaptist research have been of major significance for a generation.

TWO ADDITIONAL NEWLY DISCOVERED DOCUMENTS, THIS TIME FROM American Mennonite and Amish history, complete the group of four documents published in this issue. The one is an account of an Amish ministers' conference of 1831 held in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, the other a petition of 1755 to the Pennsylvania Colonial Assembly regarding the import of the naturalization "oath." In both cases it is not so much the subject matter which is significant, as the revelation of the concerns of the Amish and Mennonite minds of the times. The Mennonites of Colonial Pennsylvaia were deeply concerned about the maintenance of a consistent position on the major matter of nonresistance, concerned enough to address the highest officials of the province in an endeavor to make clear this position so that it could be honestly maintained and would be properly recognized in the future by the authorities. The Amish ministers, alas, seemed to be concerned about preventing the development of a more liberal attitude which might overthrow the practice of requiring rebaptism of transferring Mennonites. Though related to the ultimate concern for a pure and ordered church, this strange concern of the ministers' conference indicates a considerably narrowed mind. The "Old Order" mindset was already becoming rigid. The crisis which was to lead to the separation of the "Old Order" from the "progressive" element was not far distant.

THE EXHAUSTIVE AND METICULOUSLY ACCURATE AND OBJECTIVE account of the Old Order Mennonite, or Wisler, schism of 1872 in Indiana, presented by John C. Wenger, gives the definitive account of that unfortunate schism. While it does reveal a sharply conservative mind of certain leaders as a major cause of the schism, it also discloses an unusual quantity of that human frailty and ineptness which so often contributes to the occurrence of schisms that might otherwise be avoided. No really significant issues were at stake in either the Wisler (1872) or Brenneman (1875) schisms. Perhaps the disclosure of all the petty and disconsolate details of an emerging schism of the type which has all too often occurred in Anabaptist and Mennonite history may have some admonitory value for the contemporary generation. Why do sincere and consecrated men of God, responsible leaders and shepherds, put such weight on matters so minor, especially when they are not even mentioned in the New Testament, which is professedly so cherished a norm? Apparently sociology and psychology actually are more powerful at times than religion or the Spirit of God, to say nothing of the Scriptures. At any rate, we now know exactly what happened in 1872, thanks to Wenger's truly minute research.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

HOW TO DEAL WITH ANABAPTISTS
AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF HEINRICH BULLINGER

HEINOLD FAST* AND JOHN H. YODER*

Introduction

The famous Zofingen disputation of 1532 (July 1-9) was preceded by an exchange of correspondence between the Bernese Reformer Berchtold Haller and Zürich's leader Heinrich Bullinger, which throws light on the historical and theological background of this important event.

On June 3, Berchtold Haller reported to Bullinger that the Senate (City Council) of Bern had convoked a disputation for the end of that same month.[1] Safe conduct had been promised to all Anabaptists in order to attract leaders from outside the canton. The only prerequisite was to be the acknowledgement of the Scriptures as the sole authority. Reformers from outside Bern's territory were, however, not to be invited, in order to avoid giving the Anabaptists an occasion to claim that Bern's preachers needed outside help. Andreas Rappenstein of Lucerne had attempted to obtain the Anabaptist articles of faith,[2] but in vain. Never had the Anabaptists been found to recant the errors they had sown in every corner.[3] For this reason the disputation was to be held, not in Bern, but in the Aargau where they had caused the most confusion. Twenty learned preachers

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1 The Latin original of Haller's letter, which is summarized in this introduction, is preserved in the Zürich State Archive under the signature E II 343, 6. A part of it was printed by Johann Heinrich Ott in his *Annales Anabaptistici* (Basel, 1672) p. 55f.

2 The Reformers knew full well what the Anabaptists believed. Yet no other rendering of this passage seems possible. The desire to obtain from the Anabaptists some confessional writing of their own as a basis for discussion may well have had the purpose of forestalling any later complaint by the Anabaptists that their position was being unfairly represented.

3 "Corner" (*Winkel*) was the preferred term used by the reformers to refer to the semi-clandestine character which persecution forced Anabaptist preaching to take.

would be present, as well as delegates from the Aargau and the city of Bern. Four of these delegates would be designated as presidents responsible to guard against any possible impropriety. Bullinger should attend, but the Council (as already stated) was inviting no outside ministers. In the meantime, Haller writes,[4] he had learned that the main article of faith of the Anabaptists was to reject the Old Testament and to distort the New with unique cunning. "I beg you, if you have anything on this, communicate it." After dealing

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HOW TO ACT AND TO DISPUTE WITH CATABAPTISTS

H. Bull[inger] to B. Haller

Grace and peace from God through Jesus Christ. Half the job in dealing with Anabaptists is to be orderly. Thus it is possible to give them such a setback right at the beginning, that they can never get anywhere in the later proceedings. My advice would be to proceed as follows.

What counts is to define at the very beginning with what weapons the battle is to be waged, lest in the midst of the proceedings things which should have been taken care of and defined should rise up to obscure and confuse completely what is being discussed. Accordingly, when the prayer and opening address[8] have been completed you should immediately bring forward the following proposition:

When tensions and conflicts arise between Christians concerning matters of faith, they should be decided and clarified with Holy Scripture of Old and New Testament.

You should state this proposition just this flatly. For as soon as it has been read you shall call out:[9] "If anyone holds otherwise, let him come forward!" In this way you will be able to wring it out of them if anywhere there lurks a negation of the Old Testament.

If at this point they come forward and take up the debate, citing texts which they believe show that the Old Testament is done away with, remind yourselves very clearly before answering not to let yourselves be led away from your starting-point, and only answer what must be answered. Then take the texts which they cite and do your very best always to prove clearly that they are not in opposition to your position,[10] and have not invalidated it, always keeping one eye on your thesis. Secondly, do not let yourself be led away from the Scripture, and stay by each text until everyone can see that they have misused it and that it does not have the meaning they give it. Don't give in an inch; press them and hold them bound to the spot.[11] Go no farther than to be sure that you have answered their arguments. And not a word more!

4 "Meantime" presumably refers to the time during which Rappenstein was endeavoring to find an Anabaptist confessional document. The disadvantage of not having such a document is partly made up for by Haller's having ascertained what the Anabaptists' main point is.

5 Bullinger's *Von dem unverschampten fräfel . . . vier gespräch Bücher,* of February 1531, of which the major portion was written dialogue form.

6 Cf. note 1.

7 The copy used here is an undated one from the sixteenth century, preserved in the Bern *Burgerbibliothek* under the signature Mss. Hist. Helv. III, 59 Nr. 1. A second copy, made around 1700, is in the Bern *Staatsarchiv,* B III Bd. 68 Nr. 16. The spelling is modernized and the text marred by numerous errors. This copy has not been used to establish the present text. The existence of both manuscripts was made known to us through the kindness of Prof. Leonhard von Muralt and Pastor Herrmann Wintsch, the editors of the projected Bernese *Täuferakten.*

with other matters, Haller closes his letter: "Finally, whatever may seem advisable to you in the matter of the Anabaptists, admonish [us] in time and you will gratify us as much as possible. I do not doubt that since the publishing of your dialogues[5] many things have happened. You should have time to inform me."[6]

Bullinger's answer, which we here reproduce, must have been written during the same month.[7] The following transcription is exact; the translation is free.[7a]

QVOMODO AGENDUM ET DISPUTANDUM SIT CUM CATABAPTISTIS

H. Bull[inger] ad B. Hallerum

Gnad vnd frid von Gott durch Jesum Christum. - Ordenlich mitt den töuferen handlen jst halbe arbeit. Sj werdend auch grad jmm anfang so gar erleit, das si hernach jn der handlung nienen hin kommen mögend. Nun wäre aber min rhatschlag, das man also mitt jnen handlete.

Principio refert definire, quibus armis haec pugna sit conficienda, ne in ipsa actione hoc, quod expeditum definitumque esse oportebat, omne negotium obscuret et interturbet. Proinde post habitas preces et praefationem[8] protinus proponetis hanc propositionem:

Wan spän vnd stöss sich vnder christen von wägen dess glaubens zu(o)tragend, söllend die mitt h[eiliger] biblischer gschrifft alts und nüws testaments entscheiden und erlüteret werden.

Nudam autem hanc ponatis positionem. Mox enim atque publice fuerit praelecta,[9] clamabitis: "Si quis diuersum sentiat, prodeat." Extorquebitis igitur, sicubj latuerit veteris Testam[enti] negatio.

Wenn sie nun herfür trättend vnd disputation anhebend, ort jnzfüren, damitt si vermeinend, das alt testament abgethan sin, so nemmend jr jn üwren verantworten das eigentlich war, das jr üch nitt lassind von der position abfüren, ouch nur das vertantworttind, das zu (o) verantwortten jst. Demnach nemmend war der ortten, die si jnfürend, vnd flyssend üch dess zum höchsten, das jr allwäg hell bewysind, das die jngfürten sprüch nitt wider üwer position[10] syend, si auch nitt entkrefftiget habind, vnd habend allwäg ein oug vff die position. Das ander, das jr üch nitt lassind von der gschrifft abfu(o)ren, ouch nitt von anzognen sprüchen wychen, bis mencklich sehe, das si dem jngfu(o)rten spruch gwallt habind gethan vnd das er dahin nitt diene. Vnd da lassend schlecht nütt nah vnd trengend sy vnd haltends jm siln[11] ad statum. Da ziehend nur gar nütt jnhin, allein lu(o)gend, das jnen pre gegenwürff verantwortet werdind. Et ne uerbum amplius vllum!

7a Certain letters in the original have been changed: initial *v* with an umlaut is rendered *ü;* the usual character for the combination *sz* is rendered *ss; u* with an *o* above it is *u(o)*; and *u* with an *e* above it is *ü.*

8 A disputation was usually opened with prayer and with an introduction by one of the presidents making clear the occasion of the encounter, with especially lengthy reference to the mandate of convocation issued in this case by the Council of Two Hundred in Bern. The printed protocol of the Zofingen disputation (*Handlung oder Acta gehaltner Disputation und Gespräch zu zofingen inn Bernner Biet mit den Widertöuffern,* Zürich 1532) reports this address on pp. 4f. No attempt has been made in the following annotation to indicate the points in the course of the debate at which the advice given by Bullinger was followed.

9 The instructions presuppose that each of the theses for discussion was first read by one of the secretaries or presidents.

10 "Position" is actually too weak a rendering for the Latin equivalent as used by Bullinger in the midst of a passage in German. It means "thesis" or "starting point."

11 *jm siln* is unclear. We have rendered it here as equivalent to the High German *im Seile.*

Be forewarned against the word "Law." Most of the argument on this subject[12] will turn around it, and they will shamelessly misuse the double meaning of the word. For they will set up the following argument: "The Law is done away with (Heb. 8:13). Therefore the authority of the Old Testament for purposes of debate is nil."

Now in this text Paul is speaking only of the ceremonial law, by synecdoche.[13] The reference to sacrifice and the priesthood is evident from the context, especially Chapter Seven. Again they reason, "The Law condemns, therefore the Old Testament condemns." They fail to see that here "Law" is used by *metaleipsis*[14] to designate the sin which the Law makes evident (Rom. 4:15, 7:8-11). Thus the Law insofar as it signifies the Scripture and the eternal will of God is not abrogated unless you make a *trope*[15] in using "abrogated" in the sense of "fulfilled." So be careful so to set up the alternatives,[16] either the root significance or the derived meaning, always explaining what "Law" means in the proof text in question. For unless it signifies "Holy Scripture," most texts can never be properly understood.

When you have dealt enough with this question, don't let them sneak in another. Say, "Don't you know anything more?" If they don't and you know more arguments than they do, show it in your answer; this impresses the audience.

Finally at this point[17] pause and say: "Now we want to show you the reasons for our position in order to correct you or to hear whether you can bring forth anything against it, although you haven't been able to make your point thus far." Take care to have your best arguments prepared, in the briefest, strongest, and clearest way, and state them all in order one after the other. When you have read them all, return to the first, repeat it, and say, "Now if anyone wants to knock this one down, let him do it with Scripture." It they come again with the previous nonsense,[18] say that this has already been answered at a previous point in the debate. This you do with all the arguments one after the other.

Be sure to be strong and hardy in summarizing these arguments to say, "Since it has previously been demonstrated according to the Word of God that Scripture should be the norm . . ." etc. (here review briefly what has been proven thus far and with what arguments)," . . . we hope that we may consider it as settled that all disagreement shall be decided upon with Old and New Testament, and request that this be written down and held to in all further debate and that nothing be done against this rule," etc. And don't give in!

Now if you need confirmation and witness for the Old Testament in the New, there are the following. You may refine, illustrate, and reorganize them:

1) II Tim. 3:14ff.: "As for you, continue . . ." etc. Question: what are these sacred letters, in which Timothy was educated, when the New

12 The "subject" here referred to is the authority of the Old Testament, a question last mentioned a paragraph earlier.

13 *Synecdoche* is a favorite rhetorical term inherited from Zwingli. It refers to a type of discourse in which the whole may stand for the part or vice versa. In this case Bullinger claims that although a general term was used ("Law") Paul meant to refer only to one part of that realm, namely the ceremonial law, which alone is abrogated by the New Testament.

14 *Metaleipsis* is like synecdoche a technical rhetorical term, referring to a particular type of nonliteral meaning. The term being, however, less current in the usage of the time, Bullinger writes it with Greek characters. It signifies the shift in meaning whereby "Law" means not the law itself but that [sin] which the law makes manifest.

15 *Trope* is the generic term for all kinds of discourse in which a word does not have its literal meaning. *Synecdoche* and *metaleipsis* are only two of a host of subforms of *trope* or "tropical discourse." Zwingli had developed the use of rhetorical analysis to a high point in his campaign against Luther's more literalistic understanding of the Lord's Supper. Bullinger

Verwarend aber üch zevor mitt dem wörttlj LEX. In hoc vertitur maxima huius partis concertatio,[12] illique impudenter abutentur amphibolia verbj. Sic enim paralogizabunt: "Lex abrogata est, Ebr. 8[vs 13]. Ergo nulla est veteris instrumentj in disputando autoritas."

Ecce eo loco Paulus tantummodo loquutus est de lege cerem [oniali] per synechdochen,[13] de sacrificio et sacerdotio, ut patet ex praecedentibus et sequentibus, maxime ex cap. 7. Iterum inferent: "Lex damnat; ergo Vet[uus] Test[amentum] damnat." Non enim vident legem heic usurparj per *metaleipsin*[14] pro peccato quod lege patefit Rom. 4.7. Lex igitur quatenus [blotted: patefit] accipitur pro scriptura et perpetua voluntate dei non est abrogata, nisi tropum[15] constituas in dictione ABROGATA, quod usurparj potest pro jmpleta. Do lu(o)gend, das jr jnen die figgmülj[16] bald per etymon et nomen rej ac vocabulj gstellind, das man allwäg erlütere, was jn dem jngfürten spruch LEX heisse. Si enim non significat scripturam Sanctam, iam non quadrabit amplius locus.

Wenn jr si nun gnu(o)gsam dess artickels halb verhörend, lassend üch aber kein anderen jnflächten, so redend denn: "Wüssend jr nütt meh?" Wüssends dann nütt meh, vnd jr ander gründ mee dann si wüssend, so zeigends an mitt üwer antwortt. Nam hoc plurimum facit ad plebem.

Hieruff zu(o)letst haltend an[17] vnd sprechend: "Jetz wend mir üch vnser gründ vnsed position anzeigen üch zeberichten wyter oder zu(o) hören, ob jr neisswas darwider mögind, die jh doch bisshar üwer meinung nitt habend mögen befesten." Vnd hie lu(o)gend, das jh üwer gründ zum kürtzsten, stercksten vnd hellisten, nun die besten gstellt habend, vnd die mäldend denn all je einen nach dem andren jn der ordnung. Vnd wenn si dann all vermäldet, so kherend dann wider zum ersten grund, meldend den wider vnd sprechend: "Wyll nun jemandts den vmstossen, der thu(o)ye es mitt gschrifft." Kömmend si dann mitt dem vorigen gschwätz,[18] so sag man, es sy verantwortt ad statum rej praesentis. Vnd also theu (o)nd mitt den volgenden gründen allen.

Zu(o)letst so lu(o)gend nun, das jr starck vnd dapfer syend jn der collection, vff die meinung: "Sittmal es sich dann erfunden hatt mitt gottswortt, das man die gschrifft erduren . . ," etc. (hic breuj epilogo recense, quae hactenus probata et quibus argumentis) ". . . hoffen wir nunmalen erhalten sin, das man alle spän mitt altem vnd nüwen testament entscheiden sol vnd bgärend, das sölichs nun angschriben vnd jn aller disputation vsshin ghalten und darwider nitt ghandlet werde" etc. Vnd da lassend nummen nütt nah!

Si autem requiras quaedam pro veterj ex[18a] novo testamento robora et testimonia, haec accipe. Tu expolito, illustrato et digerito:

1) 2. Tim. 3 [, 14 ff]: "At tu persistito . . ." etc. Quaere quae sint sacrae literae, in quibus educatus Timotheus, qum nouum testa-

makes it a primary complaint against the Anabaptists that they reject the use of such rhetorical analysis in exegesis. *Von dem unverschampten fräfel . . .*, p. 87.

16 The term translated "alternatives" is *figgmülj*" (modern German *Zwickmühle*, English "double mill" or "double row"); it designates a winning position in the game of Nine Men's Morris or Marelles (German *Mühlenspiel* or *Neunstein*, Pennsylvania Dutch *figmill*, a case of synecdoche, in which the name of the winning position has come to represent the game itself. *Figmill* is not tick-tack-toe, as indicated by Marcus Lambert, *Pennsylvania German Dictionary*, Lancaster 1924, ad loc.), in which, while moving back and forth between two invulnerable positions, one captures an enemy piece at each move.

17 This paragraph was to close the introductory portion of the disputation as Bullinger foresaw it. Now the debate could move on from questions of prolegomena to the disputed issues themselves. Yet in the process of writing this closing paragraph Bullinger thinks of more to be said, both on the question he has already discussed and then on another introductory point.

18 I.e., with the claim that the New Testament supersedes the Old.

18a Written *et*, then corrected to *ex*.

Testament was not yet written? The explanation follows straightway: "All Scripture is God-breathed."[19] What Scripture? Peter answers, (II Pet. 1:19ff): "All prophetic scripture . . ." etc.

2) The Gospel is the testimony to Jesus Christ. But Christ says: "Search the Scriptures and they it is which testify of me" (John 5:39). Therefore Scriptures and Gospel are one and the same thing.

3) Paul says that he was set aside for the Gospel of God, which had previously been promised by its prophets in Holy Scripture (Rom. 1:2).

4) The same Christ in uncovering before the Sadducees the source of their error asked them if they did not know the Scriptures and led them back to the prophets (Matt. 22:29).

5) Likewise in Luke he describes Abraham as answering: "They have Moses and the prophets . . . ," etc. (Luke 16:29)

6) In the Transfiguration Moses and Elijah appear together with Christ: (Matt. 17:3).

7) Paul says he preaches nothing other than what Moses and the prophets taught: Acts 26:27. Whereas in Galatians he denies repeatedly that he taught the elements of the Law.

8) The Bereans tested everything by the Scriptures (Acts 17:11).

9) Christ opened up the Scriptures to the disciples (Luke 24:27).

10) Paul delivered the Scriptures to the Churches (I Cor. 15:4f.).

11) The writers of the Gospels confirmed their reports with Scriptures.[20]

12) Paul says everything was written for our sake: Rom. 4:23.

There are countless more of this kind; I just noted these as they came to me.

When the question has been settled in your favor, with what weapons the contest should be waged, it will next be necessary to agree on how they should be used. Therefore you shall debate in second place concerning the exact meaning of Scripture, for herein is serious conflict, when one says, "I understand it thus," and the other "I thus." This is no way to know who understands it right or not.[21] At this point set up the following thesis:

Scripture shall not be interpreted according to the judgment and spirit of men, but by and through itself, also with the rule of faith and love.

Or you can say it this way: you want to know whether one should understand Scripture according to the literal interpretation or whether it must be interpreted.[22] If they say it should be understood literally, contradict them: "The Father is greater than I" (John 14:28); "This is my body" (Mark 14:22); "Unless you eat of the flesh of the son of man. . . ." (John 6:53); "Pluck out your eye" (Matt. 5:29); "He who has bathed does not need to wash . . ." (John 13:10). Thus it must always be interpreted. But how? This is what is contested. Let them show how.[23] If they show the wrong way, combat them; if the right one, write it in the minutes! And see to it that you make everything clear, as I indicated abundantly concerning the first thesis, and that you always bring your rearguard forward at the end.[24] I'll share with you what I have on this subject.

That Scripture must be interpreted is proven by examples:

19 Again a technical term written in Greek.

20 This is the only witness in the list to which no New Testament reference is appended. The reference is probably to the First Gospel's frequent reference to Old Testament passages.

21 The ungrammatical turn of this sentence, which would have been proper without the last two words, is faithful to the German.

mentum nondum scriptum esset. Sed mox sequitur expositio: "Omnis scriptura *theopneustos.*"[19] Quae vero illa? Respondet Petrus 2. Pet. 1 [, 19 ff]: Omnis prophetica scriptura . . ." etc.

2) Euangelium est testimonium de Jesu Christo. Sed Christus dicit: "Scrutaminj scripturas et illae sunt, quae testantur de me" [Joh. 5, 39]. Igitur script[ura] et euangelium in jdem recidunt.

3) Paulus dicit se segregatum in evangelium dei, quod ante promiserit per prophetas suos in script[ura] s[ancta]: Rom. 1[, 2].

4) Ipse Christus erroris fontem Sadducaeis aperiens inquit eos nescire scripturas et retro in prophetas reducit: Matt. 22 [, 29].

5) Idem in Luca prodidit Abrahamum respondisse: "Habent Mosem et prophetas . . ."etc.: Luc. 16 [, 29].

6) In transfiguratione apparent simul cum Christo Mosese et Helias: Matt. 17 [, 3].

7) Paulus dicit se nihil aluid praedicare quam quod Moses et prophetae docuerunt: Acts. 26 [, 22]. At in Galatis negat et pernegat se legalia docuisse.

8) Berrhoenses omnia probarunt scripturis: Act. 17 [, 11].

9) Christus discipulis aperuit scripturas: Luc. 24 [, 27].

10) Paulus ecclesiis tradit scripturas: 1. Cor. 15 [, 4 f].

11) Evangelistae sua firmant scripturis[20]

12) Propter nos omnia scripta esse dicit Paulus Rom. 4 [, 23 f].

Infinita sunt huius generis alia, sed haec incidenter.

Wenn man nun den artickel eroberet hatt, mitt was gwehren man fechten sölle, so wirtt dann von nöten sin, das man auch eins werde, wie man die gwer bruchen sölle. Secundo ergo loco disputabitis de genuino scripturae sensu; dann hierjn jst gross span, so einer seit: "Also verstan jchs", ein andrer aber: "Also jch." Damit mag man nitt wüssen, wers recht verstand oder nitt.[21] Hie mögend jr nun dise position stellen:

Die gschrifft aber soll nitt vssgleit werden nach menschen gu(o)t-duncken vnd geist, sonder mitt vnd durch sich selbs, ouch mitt der regel dess gloubens vnd der liebj.

Oder aber jr mögend reden, jr wellind je[t]z ein wüssen haben, ob man die gschrifft dem bu(o)chstaben nah vssgleit sölle verstan oder ob man si vsslegen[22] sölle. Redend si; man sölls dem bu(o)chstaben nah verstan, so stryt wider si: "Pater maior me est" [Joh. 14, 28]; "Hoc est corpus meum" [Mc. 14, 22]; "Nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis" [Joh. 6, 53]; "Erue oculum abs te" [Mt. 5, 29]; "Quj latus est, non opus habet . . ." etc [Joh. 13, 10]. So m (o)ss mans je vsslegen. Sed quomodo? Haec controvertitur. Ostendant ergo modum;[23] Si falsum ostendunt, impugnate! Si verum, in tabulas scribite! Vnd lu(o)gend, das jr da alle ding klaar machind, vie gnu(ogsam jm esrten artickel gmeldet, das jr allwäg üwer hindehüit zu(o)letst fürhin thu(o)end.[24] Quae autem hac in re habeo vobiscum communico.

Scripturam esse exponendam probatur exemplis:

22 The word "interpreted" is used in two basically different senses in this sentence and in the text to follow. When the word is used without adverbial modifiers, it refers uniformly to nonliteral interpretation, i.e., an explanation of a text which denies that it should be taken in the most evident sense.

23 I.e., the Anabaptists should be challenged to take the initiative in explaining the above texts, which in Bullinger's mind are prize examples of the impossibility of literal interpretation. (It is noteworthy that two of the basic texts underlying the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper are among those concerning which it is self-evident to Bullinger that they cannot be taken literally.) If the Anabaptists "interpret" those passages they will thereby have let themselves open to the nonliteral interpretation of those texts they will later want to construe literally.

24 I.e., claim the last word with a summary of each section of the debate.

1) That of Christ who exposited the law in Matt. 5; a text from Isaiah 61 in Luke 4:17ff; and other scriptures for his disciples, Luke 24:27.

2) That of Peter who often interpreted [Old Testament] references in Acts and his epistles, but who also testifies that some misinterpret Paul. It follows therefore that there is a proper and true interpretation.

3) That of the church which applied Psalm 2 in Acts 4:22ff.

4) That of Philip who explained Isaiah to the eunuch in Acts 8:35.

5) That of Paul, often in Acts, in Romans concerning Abraham and some other texts, in Corinthians concerning the passover, in Galatians often in chapters 3 and 4.

6) The clearest example is I Cor. 14:28: "If there is no interpreter, let him be silent in the church . . ." etc. And "Do not quench the Spirit . . ." etc. (I Thess. 5:19). Pray how could it be said more clearly?

Now by the same Holy Scriptures we shall teach in what way the interpreting should be done:

1) It is not enough to have brought forward just one proof text, for still others may be set over against it; the devil produced such texts (Matt. 4:1ff). Likewise the Sadducees (Matt. 22:23ff). They could cite Scriptures, but He opposed to them clearer contrary texts.

2) Thus the clearer texts should be applied to explain the obscure, as Peter teaches (II Pet. 1:19ff?).

3) A given text should be interpreted according to the context, faith and love.[25] Proof: this is the way Christ dealt with the matter of the letter of divorce (Matt. 19:3ff); Paul with the term "was imputed" (Rom. 4:3ff). I Cor. 12, 13.[26] Jas. 2:21.

From this it follows already that whatever is affirmed in Scripture is also clarified and exposited by Scripture. Thus everything is straightened out by the rule of faith and love; the lesser by the greater, the obscure by the evident.

Be sure to press this point until they cease objecting and consent. Do not leave the question until they agree. For this agreement will be highly useful, assuring that later in the debate proper they will not dare either boast of their own spirit nor insist on a nakedly literal sense. And if they cite texts of Scripture, they should be no less obliged to prove the sense and seek confirmation in other Scriptures.

Now you will always be able to hobble them. You can always say, "Now prove your view with Scriptures or else I will upset it for you with Scripture." This requires a man well versed in Scripture, but the victory may be expected most certainly.

Beware lest they simply pile up a string of straightforward similar texts in lieu of interpretation. The texts by means of which we intend to interpret a given contested passage must either be clearer than the one which is the object of contention, or else they must be contrary to it, so that everyone can see by the contrast that the contested text must have another meaning than the one yielded by the words themselves. In the former case, whenever the sense should be sharpened, follow the context; in the latter, follow faith and love.[27] So much for this.

Only after this preparation should you go on to the points of disagreement, and you will find that the work will become easier. And if they are unwilling to proceed in this way and to treat beforehand these intro-

25 These terms are not three expressions of one rule, but rather two or three independent

1) Christj, qui legem exposuit: Matt. 5, locum Esaiae ex 61. cap, apud Luc. 4 [, 17 ff]; scripturas discipulis; Luc. 24 [, 27].

2) Petrj, qui nonullos exposuit locos in Actis et epistolis, sed et testatur quosdam Paulum peruerso sensu intelligere: 2. Petr. 3 [, 16]. Est ergo sensus rectus et verus.

3) Ecclesiae, quae exponit psal. 2: Actorum 4 [, 24 ff].

4) Philippi, quj Eunucho exposuit Jsaiam: Act. 8 [, 35].

5) Paulj, quj in Actis plura; in Rom. de Abrah. et aliis quaedam; in Corinth. pascha; in Galat. multa cap. 3:4.

6) Clarissmum est 1. Cor. 14 [, 28]: "Quod si non sit interpres, taceat in ecclesia . ." etc. Et: "Spiritus ne extinguatis . ." etc.: 1. Thess. 5 [, 19]. Quibus verbis quid oro clarius?

Nunc ex ipsis scripturis s[anctis] docebimus, quomodo sit exponenda:

1) Non satis est vnum locum produxisse, nisi opponantur et alij; alias euicisset daemon: Matt. 4 [, 1 ff]. Sadduc[aeos] adduc: Matt. 22 [, 23 ff]. Adduxere quidem scripturas, sed et contraria et clariora loca opponit.

2) Obscuris igitur adhibenda clariora, ut Petrus docet 2. Pet. 1 [, 19 ff?].

3) Ipse locus per se secundum circumstantias, fidem et charitatem exponendus est.[25] Probo: Sic agit Christus cum libello repudii, Matt. 19 [, 3 ff]; Paulus cum dictione "jmputatur, Rom. 4 [, 3 ff], 1. Cor. 12; 13[?],[26] Jac. 2 [, 21 ff].

Ex istis iam sequitur, quod iste in scripturis fultus ex scripturis erutus et prolatus est. Item ubj minus per maius, obscurius per clarius, secundum fidem et charitatem omnia directa sunt.

Hic imprimis curate, ut in haec dissentire desinant, sed consentiant, neque hinc discesseritis, quoadusque subscribant. Ad hoc enim utile erit, ut postea in ipsa disputatione neque spiritum suum jactare, neque nuda litera utj ausint. Et si scripturae locos produxerint, non minus sensum ex scripturis probare atque testimonia ex scripturis petere.

Da werdend jr nun fry allwägen mögen hämen, allweg reden: "Nun bewär den verstand mitt gschrifft oder aber jch will dir mitt gschrifft din verstand vmkheren." Exercitatum quidem haec in scripturis hominem requirunt, sed certissima speranda victoria.

Caue etiam, ne specie expositionis similes prorsus locos coaceruent. Debent ij locj, quibus exponere volumus, aut clariores esse, quam is sit, de quo concertatio est, aut contrarij, ut quisque ex repugnantia videre possit alium subesse sensum quam eum, quem verba pro se ferunt. Ibj jam excutiendae circumstantiae, praecedens, consequens fides, charitas.[27] -Haec hactenus.

Darnach nemmend erst die artickel zehand, so werdend jr befinden, das die arbeit hieruff ringer wirt. Vnd ob sie daran nitt gern kommen und das zevor wellend lassend handlen, so zeigend jnen, das es nitt beschäch

and sometimes contrary criteria, as will be seen more clearly later. "Faith" as a canon of "interpretation" indicates that a given text is to be reconciled with the total body of doctrinal belief (as a Zwinglian must do, e.g., with the texts John 6:53 and Mark 14:22 above); "Love" in the same connection means the welfare and orderliness of society. This concept, used as criterion for the nonliteral interpretation of numerous passages, had been instrumental in winning the recantation of Hans Pfistermeyer in 1531. (Cf. article "Pfistermeyer," *ME* IV.)

26 It is not clear what "interpretation" by Paul is referred to here. Perhaps the testing of Spirits (I Cor. 12:3f) is taken as a use of the rule of Faith, or 13:1ff as an indication of love, but we do not have to do here with the use of Faith and Love as hermeneutic canons.

27 Now it is evident (cf. Note 25 above) that "Faith and Love" as interpretative principles have an application diametrically opposed to that of seeing a text in its context. If a text is clear, i.e., in favor of the Reformed, it should be understood in context; if it appears to favor the Anabaptists it should be subjected to "interpretation" by the use of these two general norms.

ductory questions, show them that it is not done out of reasons of strategy, but rather in order to avoid future discord, and so that the ensuing proceedings can be hardy, sure, and true.

The advice I give you here is what I had to say. May God give you, Caspar,[28] Franz,[29] and the other dear brethren wisdom, understanding, and the victory through His Word. Amen.

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) was involved in the early struggle against Anabaptism in Zürich primarily as a spectator, a young and very faithful disciple of Zwingli.[30] In 1529 he was called to preach in Bremgarten, a small city directly east of Zürich, on the edge of the Freie Aemter (today the canton Aargau), an area whose administration was ineffective in policing the Anabaptists because the sovereignty was shared by several cantons.

The strength of Anabaptism in the area challenged Bullinger to prepare a polemic tract for popular readership, which was practically ready for the printer in January 1531. *Von dem unverschamptten fräfel . . .*[31] is a minor masterpiece of popular polemics, written in the form of an imaginary conversation between two traveling merchants or journeymen.

But before the booklet could be published Bullinger was able to meet the Anabaptists at first hand. He held a disputation in his church in Bremgarten in January 1531, where the Anabaptist spokesman, probably Hans Pfistermeyer of Aarau,[32] surprised him by concentrating his attack on the maintenance of the pre-Reformation pattern of tithes and interests for the financial support of Church and State. Bullinger accordingly added an appendix on this subject before publishing his pamphlet.

Two months later Pfistermeyer was in the hands of the Bernese police, and a debate was immediately planned. In two days of discussion (April 18-19, 1531) he was brought to admit that he had misunderstood the Word of God, and his formal recantation is part of the printed report of the debate which the authorities speedily published.[33]

The definite organization of the Bernese Reformation began with the "Berner Synodus" of January 1532. This document, written chiefly by Wolfgang Capito of Strasbourg, who was visiting in Switzerland at the time of the Synod, dealt with both doctrine and polity, and laid the groundwork for the solid establishment of the Reformed

28 Caspar Megander (Grossmann), formerly one of Zwingli's assistants in Zürich, now at Bern, one of the major speakers at the disputation.

29 Franciscus Kolb, Haller's assistant in Bern since the early days of the Reformation.

30 The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* article on Bullinger, which leaves something to be desired, will happily be supplemented in a matter of months by a very thorough dissertation by Heinold Fast on Bullinger's relationship to the Anabaptists.

uss keinem ufsatz, sonder künfftig spän zvermyden vnd das man dapfer, sicher vnd warlich handlen möge.

Das hab jch jetzmal gehept, das jch dir rathe. Gott gäbe dir, Casparen[28] vnd Frantzen,[29] ouch andren lieben brüderen wyssheit, verstand vnd sig bj sinem wortt. Amen. *H. Bullinger*

Church which had been decided upon in principle four years previously.

Though the Synodus is not in itself a strongly anti-Anabaptist document, the work of regularizing the ecclesiastical situation in Bern which it inaugurated naturally involved a more energetic campaign against dissent than had previously been undertaken. It was as legitimation for this new offensive and in the hope that the success encountered with Pfistermeyer could be repeated that the Zofingen Disputation, in connection with which the above letter was written by Bullinger, was called.

Apart from the light it gives us on the extreme intellectual dependence of the Bernese Reformers on Zürich, and apart from the linguistic interest of the mixture of Latin and Swiss-German in which it is written, this letter is of great value as one of the first serious efforts to go behind the evident points of conflict (baptism, oath, nonresistance, etc.) and define deeper hermeneutic and theological issues underlying the Anabaptist-Reformed controversy.

Bullinger fixes his attention on two such deeper issues. The first, already mentioned in Berchtold Haller's letter to him, is the rejection of the Old Testament, in virtue of the claim that the "Law" has been abrogated by Christ or that the New Covenant is qualitatively different from the Old.

This is not the place to ask to what extent Bullinger's understanding of the position of those against whom he here argues is accurate.[34] Certainly no Anabaptists rejected the Old Testament categorically; nonetheless it is understandable that the higher authority attributed by the Anabaptists to the consummate revelation in Christ could appear to the Reformed, with their ahistorical conception of Scripture as a monolithic body of authoritative revelation, and especially with their great respect for the Old Testament theo-

31 Cf. the article under this title in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*

32 The detailed evidence for the narrative of this and the following paragraphs is presented in J. H. Yoder, *Die Gespräche zwischen Täufern und Reformatoren in der Schweiz, 1523-1538* (Karlsruhe, 1959), pp. 116 ff. Pfistermeyer and Aarau were connected with Anabaptism as early as November 1525 (von Muralt and Schmidt, *Quellen . . . Zürich,* Zürich 1952, No. 119, p. 117).

33 *Ein Christenlich gespräch gehallten zu Bernn Zwüschen den Predicanten und Hansen Pfyster Meyer von Arouw . . . ,* no date or place of printing indicated. Foreword dated April 19, 1531, Bern.

34 Cf. article "Old Testament" in *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*

cratic ideal, to be tantamount to outright rejection.[35] Bullinger thus has seen a real issue here, although the Anabaptist understanding of the higher level of the New Covenant is not really touched by his careful demonstration that the New Testament writers accepted the Old as Scripture.

Bullinger's second argument concerns the necessity of Biblical interpretation. This issue is interwoven with the previous one, as is illustrated in letter by his use of the terms *synecdoche, metaleipsis,* and *trope* in the discussion of the "Law." The claim he makes can be subdivided into three theses. The first is that Scripture should be explained by Scripture ("whatever is affirmed in Scripture is also clarified and exposited by Scripture . . . the lesser by the greater, the obscure by the evident"). This excellent rule is the common property of almost all sixteenth-century writers on the right use of the Bible. Nothing was more widely agreed upon by all non-Catholics from the most conservative Reformers to the most individualisic Spiritualists, than that the *helle Stellen* (unambiguous passages) should guide the interpretation of the *dunkle Stellen.*

Yet no one seemed to see clearly that this principle, being purely formal, is useless for purposes of argument. For who is to decide which are the *helle Stellen?* For Luther there was nothing more clear and unequivocal, nothing more evangelical and joyful in all of Scripture, than the words of the Lord, "This is my body." Yet these very words seem to Bullinger to be so evidently incapable of being understood literally that they could serve, in the above letter, as proofs of the necessity of "interpretation."

Bullinger's second assumption is that the primary choice is between literal and nonliteral interpretation, whereby he tends to reserve the word "interpretation" for the nonliteral exposition. Bullinger is not alone in making the false assumption that language is either clearly symbolic or clearly not, an assumption which has sown confusion in theology for centuries; but the present letter makes especially clear how basic the dichotomy literal vs. nonliteral is for him. In reality all language is symbol, and all language is "literal" if it communicates at all. Whether a given proposition points unambiguously to one clear meaning is not a yes-or-no matter but a relative one; it is determined not as much by the form of the statement as by the situation in which it is spoken.

Bullinger's belief that the alternatives are an unequivocal liter-

35 "In our canton the Grüningen Anabaptists reject the whole Old Testament," Zwingli in his "Elenchus" (1527) (*Ulrich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* VI, p. 57). The argument which follows in Bullinger's letter, that the New Testament writers had no "Scripture" but the Old Testament, is used in the "Elenchus" and earlier still in Zwingli's "Answer to Balthasar Hubmaier" of November 1525.

alism, which applies to some texts, and an equally unequivocal rejection of the literal meaning which is necessary for others, was the bridge to his third and most important thesis, namely, that the canons of "interpretation" are "faith" and "love." This thesis is the most significant because, differing from those referred to above, it is not purely formal. It thereby defines what the previous principles (especially the interpretation of Scripture by Scripture) will mean in application. "Faith" and "love" are concepts with real content. "Faith" is the whole body of orthodox Christian belief, assumed to be identical with the whole of Scripture, symbolized and summarized in the Apostles' Creed, which was referred to in the speech of the time simply as "the faith" (*der Glaube*). "Love" is whatever serves the interest of social order and peace in the Christian society of the sixteenth century. Bullinger indicates explicitly that, where necessary, "faith" and "love" should be so applied as to "interpret" a text and give it "another meaning than the one yielded by the words themselves."

"Love" had made it possible for Balthasar Hubmaier to recant without being really convinced in December 1525.[36] "Faith and love" had led Hans Pfistermeyer to surrender his Anabaptist convictions point by point in April 1531. "Faith and love" were destined, thanks partly to Bullinger's advice, to be appealed to as norms in the debates at Zofingen in 1532 and in Bern in 1538. The assumption that "faith" and "love" are unambiguous quantities, capable of being known and appealed to as final authority for the understanding of Scripture in cases of doubt or disagreement, dominates the Reformed position in conversations with Anabaptism in the entire early period. One may classify it either as the first sign of modern theological liberalism or as a vestige of medieval humanism; at any rate, the rapidity and the clarity with which it replaced "sola Scriptura" as a leitmotif is a fact of prime importance in understanding the Reformation.

36 Cf. J. H. Yoder, "Balthasar Hubmaier and the Beginnings of Swiss Anabaptism," *MQR* XXXII (1958) p. 14.

THE OLDEST KNOWN HUTTERITE CODEX OF 1566
A CHAPTER IN ANABAPTIST INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Robert Friedmann*

Original Anabaptist writings of the sixteenth century are relatively rare even though of prime importance for a proper appreciation of the movement. Besides these, there are only secondary sources by (in most cases) unsympathetic outsiders, or court and archival records, which completely lack the spirit of what Anabaptism really stood for. Only in Moravia something of an Anabaptist archive or historical library was built up during the rather peaceful years of 1560-1590 at the residence of the Vorsteher or head bishop, called the Neumühle.[1] Here apparently careful records were kept of everything pertaining to the brotherhood: all incoming letters (from brethren on mission or in prison) as well as careful copies of all outgoing epistles, the annals or church records (such as ordinations, appointments, deaths, and other important community events), and a fairly rich library of devotional literature, theological and otherwise, for the most part of Anabaptist origin. This last named section was fortunately not at all narrowly conceived. It contained not only practically everything produced by the Hutterites themselves, such as Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* or the great *Article Book,*[2] and all the numerous confessions and defenses of Brethren at trials anywhere in German lands, tracts of all kinds, Ordnungen (regulations), and hymn collections, but it contained also writings of friends and forerunners, such as the complete works of Balthasar Hubmaier (printed, hence never copied in Hutterite codices), the Schleitheim Confession, and similar early documents,[3] also the *Vermahnung* (or *Taufbüchlein*) by Pilgram Marpeck (reproduced anonymously), parts of Menno Simons' writings, even a tract by a Philippite brother, all the writings of such leaders as Hans Denck, Hans Hut, Michael Sattler, Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, Hans Langemantel and Jörg Hauck von Juchsen, also well-known books such as Sebastian Franck's *Chronica,* Eusebius' *Church History,* and the writings of Flavius Josephus. It is even possible that Latin books were available in this strange library, such as the Pseudo-Clementine epistles, published in Latin by Sichem in 1526 and translated for the Brethren by Leonhard Dax, a former Catholic priest. This was truly the "golden period" of Anabaptism which founded such a center in

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1 See article "Neumühle" in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* III.

2 See article "Article Book," *ME* I.

3 Cf. Robert Friedmann, "The Schleitheim Confession and Other Doctrinal Writings of the Swiss Brethren in a Hitherto Unknown Edition," *MQR* XVI (1942) 82-98.

Moravia. Nothing comparable has become known from any Swiss, German, or Dutch Anabaptist group, even though the Netherlands eventually also established full toleration toward the end of the sixteenth century.

Not much is known of this Neumühle center, but at least a few Brethren are known to have been gifted in writing and recording who might have conceived such an "Anabaptist Historical Library"; for example, Peter Walpot (d.1578), the efficient Vorsteher of 1565-1578, Leonhard Dax (d.1574), and Caspar Braitmichel (d.1573),[4] one of the oldest and most experienced members of the brotherhood, a born "historian" and collector. It is this last named brother to whom we owe the idea of a *Geschicht-Buch* or chronicle and its execution at least to the year 1542; this is learned in part from the Preface of the greater Chronicle. The concept may have occurred to him when he first hit upon the idea of a combination devotional reader for the Brethren of his Bruderhof. To make the untapped treasures of that "archive" available to them not only to strengthen them but also to inform them of their origin and reason for their particular stand in face of an opposing and tempting "world"—that was certainly a royal idea. Of course, printing such materials was out of the question. Only Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* was once printed (probably in an edition of perhaps not more than one hundred copies), presumably as an experiment simply because a journeyman printer happened to pass through the Neumühle Bruderhof. (We call it an "experiment," since the Brethren did not want the spread of their literature to outside areas; but the Catholic priest Fischer, the arch-foe of the Brethren in Moravia, managed to secure a copy.) Otherwise the Brethren in all their history up to 1900 had almost nothing printed (save two small exceptions). Their literature was and to a large extent still is a manuscript literature. It is still today the pride of a Hutterite preacher in South Dakota or Alberta to show the visitor on his book shelves twenty, thirty, even sixty handwritten volumes of their tracts, hymns, and sermons.

To sum up: It is the conjecture of this writer that it was Caspar Braitmichel who first decided to produce such a combination "codex" (manuscript book), written beautifully in two colors (black, with red for titles, page headings, and paragraph beginnings), on good strong paper, and bound solidly in embossed leather, closed by two brass clasps. In the course of about one century, the number of such precious codices (usually written in exemplary penmanship) must have reached one thousand if not more; still today three to four

4 See the pertinent articles in *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*

hundred are known both in the Old World and in America. It is further my conjecture that because of the success of this new devotional literature Braitmichel decided to try his hand with the production of a Chronicle of the brotherhood, including the "pre-history" of the entire movement—taken to a large extent from Sebastian Franck's *Chronica*.[5] But much was added out of Braitmichel's own knowledge, such as, for instance, the story of Petrus Olivi, the Franciscan Spiritual of the 13th century;[6] thus the book as a whole gives the impression of a solidly original work. Its value as a source of information is inestimable; to quote only one instance: the classical story of the first adult baptism in Zürich on January 21, 1525 (Grebel, Blaurock, Manz), is known to us exclusively through this Braitmichel chronicle. When and how he got this bit of information is not recorded, but since Braitmichel had been a Hutterite brother since the early 1530's, and since many Swiss Brethren either had joined the Hutterites in Moravia or had at least come into contact with them,[7] it may be assumed that Braitmichel's source was personal hearsay, possibly deriving from Georg Blaurock, as H. S. Bender supposes. In another instance, when the Gabrielites joined the Hutterites in 1545, a conversation *(Religions-Gespräch)* preceded this decisive step, and Braitmichel was probably not only present at these negotiations but kept the minutes *(Protokoll)* of these talks, now incorporated in the Chronicle.

Thus out of recollections of more than forty years and with the help of all kinds of documents, the text of the Chronicle gradually developed—to give future generations information about roots and reasons for their being "brothers."

Thus it is my impression that a devotional reader came first, and right after it the beginning of the Chronicle, around the years 1566-1570. That this chronicle survived (in two nearly identical copies) is wellnigh miraculous considering the vicissitudes of Hutterite history. They are still carefully preserved and in part copied by the present-day Brethren, who brought a big library of such codices with them when they left Russia in the 1870's to settle in South Dakota (and after 1918 in Canada). Many items of their former libraries (nearly every Bruderhof had one) were taken away by the Austrian authorities from 1695-1700 on. During the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) wholesale confiscations took place. Wagonloads of manuscript books and Bibles were carried away in Slovakia by Jesuits (at a time when elsewhere the Jesuits were no longer recognized, in fact

5 See article "Chronica," *ME* I.
6 See Friedmann, "A Hutterite Book of Medieval Origin," *MQR* XXX (1956) 65-71.
7 Cf. article "Swiss Brethren in Moravia," in *ME* IV.

had as an order been dissolved by the pope), and either stored in Jesuit College libraries (e.g., in Skalitz, Slovakia, which library was later incorporated into the library of the University of Budapest), or given to the nearest parish priest to deal with at his pleasure. Some of these books were taken to Bratislava (Cathedral library), some to Esztergom-Gran (library of the archbishop and primate of Hungary), but many were simply destroyed, often burned as being "without value" as heretical books. We do not know how many were thus eliminated.

Nevertheless a considerable number of these old books were preserved, most likely by those who had formerly lived in Transylvania. On their great trek to Rumania, Ukraine, and South Russia (1767 ff.), they carried them along as their most precious heirloom. Thus we find today both in the United States and in Canada (and in part also in Paraguay, with the Society of Brothers) a valuable array of such books, little read nowadays to be sure, but reverently preserved. Today they are the personal property of single brothers, in fact the only "private" property they have, and a complete list of them is not easily established. If a brother dies he bequeaths his "old" books to whomever he pleases. Unfortunately such books can also be found today with people formerly connected with the Hutterites, but now living on their own. (Thus, for instance, a precious Riedemann codex is reported on a farm near Freeman, S.D., the property of a family formerly Hutterite. The Krimmer Mennonites also count a considerable number of former Hutterites among their members.)

In my own endeavor to establish a catalog of all these valuable documents as complete as possible I visited a great number of these American and Canadian Bruderhofs, but did not succeed in completely ferreting out all originals still present.[8] While doing this work I heard of one particularly old and rich codex containing unique material, which was known to many and copied several times by the late bishop Elias Walter.[9] I soon learned that it had also been known to John Horsch through his friendship with Walter, and some first information had been published by Horsch in the *Herold der Wahrheit* in 1888.[10] It was also known to Eberhard Arnold, the founder of the Society of Brothers, who mentioned this codex in his footnotes to the unfinished publication of the Hutterite *Kleingeschichtsbuch* (1933), naming it appropriately "Codex Braitmichel."

8 It is hoped that this *Catalog* will one day be published in the German language together with a complete listing of the entire Hutterite literature of the 16th and 17th centuries.

9 See article "Elias Walter," in *ME* IV.

10 John Horsch in *Herold der Wahrheit,* 1888, p. 165.

But now no one knew where this remarkable book might be, even though everyone knew about it. Finally, after about a year's search, one kind brother gave me a cue and soon I got the confirmation that the codex was safe in a colony in northern Montana. Naturally I had to see it, traveling 1700 miles, and I want to acknowledge gratefully the splendid reception and hospitality at this Montana Bruderhof, where a cottage was made available to me that I might study the book undisturbedly.

There was, however, a small disappointment: the original leather binding no longer exists because it was worn out. Some thirty or forty years ago the book was rebound, and for that reason lacks somewhat that quaint and beautiful external appearance of similar codices. To acquaint the reader now with this book, we shall try to describe it as completely as possible.

The title, carefully written, reads as follows: *Epistel Buech, mit fleisz geschriben von vilen streitern und zeugen gottes, allen frumen zum trost. Sambt einem ordentlichen register, etc.* The date at the bottom of the page says DMLXVI, which suggests that this is possibly the oldest Hutterite codex in existence (the *Kunstbuch* of Jörg Maler antedates it by five years: 1561). The claim that Braitmichel was the compiler is but a conjecture (first made by Eberhard Arnold) but it has much in its favor, even though the codex itself shows different scribal hands at work—nothing unusual with Hutterites. The book is of quarto size and contains 16 unnumbered and 625 numbered leaves (1,282 pages). It is in perfect condition—in spite of its age of nearly four hundred years. It is written in typically Hutterite sixteenth century penmanship (ink), sometimes rather small, but always clearly legible. Titles, page headings, and the beginning of each chapter are written in red ink. The book is written in two columns (making roughly 2,400 columns, not including the "Register," or Table of Contents). Many items are preceded by a short summary of the contents by the compiler. The alphabetic "Register" at the beginning is by no means complete, and the following listing is not taken from it but from direct inspection. The book reveals an amazing variety, presenting not less than forty-two different writers or groups of writers, each one usually represented with several items. A number of items are presented anonymously—as is customary in Anabaptist literature—but the context allows certain conclusions. Here is the listing:

2 Timo am 3.

Jacob Huter: Sechs Episteln, einschliesslich der an den Landeshauptmann von Mähren, 1535, fol. 1-34, and 119, 120;

[Anonymous]: Ein Sendbrief geschrieben anstatt der ganzen Gemeinde

und Bruderschaft an die Herren des Landes zu Mähren, gesandt im Jahre 1545 (NB. Fälschlich Jakob Huter zugeschrieben) fol. 35-42.

Hans Amon: Drei Episteln an Jörg Fasser und Lienhard Sailer nach Mödling, 1536;
Epistel an die Gefangenen auf Falckenstein, 1539;
Drei Episteln an die Brüder in Triest und auf dem Meer;
Epistel an die Geschwistriget zu Gostal;
Brief an die lieben Schwestern und Kranken zu Steinabrunn (these nine letters fol. 42-63; two more epistles fol. 135-7).

Jeronimus Käls, Michel Seifensieded, and Hans Oberecker: Eight epistles and "Ein schönes Lied," fol. 63'-78' and fol. 138-151. (The hymn is "Ich freu mich denn, O Vater mein, in meinem Elend jetzt vorhanden.")

Six brothers: Lamprecht Gruber, Hans Beck, Lorentz Schuester, Hänsel Planer, Peter, sein Knecht, Hänsel Thaler: Drei Episteln 1532 an die Aeltesten der Gemeinde gesandt von Stertzing im Etschland aus der Gefanckhnuss, fol. 79-82.

Thomas Waldhauser: Epistel an die Brüder zu Brünn, 1528, fol. 83-86

Kuentz Füechter: Epistel an die Gemein im Etschland, gesandt aus der Gefanckhnuss zu Stertzing, 1532, fol. 86-88.

Offerus Griesinger, sambt seinem mitgefangen Bruder Leonhard (Lochmaier): Vier Briefe aus dem Gefängnis zu Brixen, fol 89-112.

Wilhelm Grissbacher: Ein Brief aus der Gefanckhnuss, 1535, fol. 113-4.

Hans Donner und Hans Seidel: Ein Brief aus Sankt Veith in Kärnten, 1538, fol. 115-116.

Hans Peckh und seine mitgefangenen Brüder: Zwei Briefe aus dem Gefängnis zu Guffidaun, fol. 117-8, 124-125.

Jörg Wagner: Eine schöne Epistel (story of his martyrdom), auch seine Artikel und sein Verhör, 1527 (in Codex erroneously "1537"; this is no letter but a report by an eye witness), fol. 121-124.

Ludwig Fest: Ein Brief aus dem Gefängnis zu Schwatz in Tirol, 1533, fol. 126-127.

Leonhard Roth: Epistel dem Bruder Abraham und denen, die bei ihm in Einigkeit des Geistes gesamblet sind, geschrieben aus der Gefanckhnus (1540), fol. 128-130.

Gefangene Brüder auf Falckenstein; Brief an die Gemein Gottes in Mähren (1540), fol. 131-134.

Hans Amon (see also above): Sendbrief an Walser Mayr, Justina and Endln, etc., fol. 135-136;
Sendbrief an Leonhard Schienbacker, fol. 136-137.

Jeronimus Käls (see above): Sendbrief an Hans Amon, 1536;
Rechenschaft Jeronimus, Michel Behem und Hans Oberecker, aus Ihren Banden und Gefencknussen (fol. 144-146);
Die achte Epistel an die Kinder Gottes zu Auspitz in der Schul (all this): fol. 138-151.

Jörg Fasser und Leonhard Sailer (or Lanzenstiel): Neun Episteln an die Gemein Gottes in Mähren, gesandt aus dem Gefängnis zu Mödling, 1536, fol. 152-162, and fol. 172-196.

Klein Michel (Michael Seifensieder or Behaim, of Bohemia): Drei Episteln aus seinen Banden in Wien an die Gemeinde Gottes in Mähren, fol. 163-167, 168-172 (see also above fol. 71-72).

Stoffel Aschelberger: Vier Episteln an die Brüder zu Znaim, etc., gesandt von Falckenstein, 1540, fol. 197-199.

Hans Schlaffer: Die zwei Verantwortungen, 1527, schriftlich überantwortet (Antwort auf die Fragen getan vom Richter) fol. 200-206;
Ein einfältiger Unterricht zum Anfang eines christlichen Lebens (enthält auch die Fragen der Taufe halben) fol. 206-212;
Testament und eigen Bekanntnus gegen Gott, ein ainfaltiges Gebet durch ainen gefangenen armen Brueder im Herren, zu Schwatz geurtelt und betrübt bis in den Todt. Datum Schwatz, Montag nach Lichtmess dises gefährlichsten 28. Jars. fol. 212-219 (This is the longest prayer ever composed by an Anabaptist, one of the most profound prayers ever written down in the agony of imminent death.);
Folgt nun ein kurzer Bericht: Anfang eines christlichen Lebens, auch Gebet und Danksagung, fol. 219-220;
Kurz und einfältige Vermahnung von der Kindertaufe, am 2. Tag January im 1528 Jahr, fol. 221-224;
Brief an einen Bruder, Antwort auf etliche Fragstücke, fol. 225-227;
Ein Bericht seiner Bekanntnus und Verantwortung vor der Obrigkeit getan, an seine Geschwistriget im Herren zugeschrieben. Geschrieben am Pfingstag vor Pauli Bekehrung, A.D. 1528, fol. 227-230.

Leonhard Schiemer: Eine Epistel an die Gemein zu Rottenburg [i.e., Rattenberg], darin eine hüpsche Erklärung der XII Stücke christlichen Glaubens begriffen, fol. 232-239. (Fol. 231 does not exist.) Fol. 240 contains a diagram (see later), 240' a brief meditation (see later);
Was Gottes Gnad sei, fol. 241-242;
Eine Epistel Leonhard Schiemers an die Gemain zu Rottenburg am Inn, 1527 Jahr, Von dreierlei Gnad (The section "Von der andren Gnad" has also a remarkable paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer.) fol. 242-255;
Folgt nun Vom Fläschl, fol. 251'-253 (one of the finest pieces ever written by an Anabaptist) Datum: Zu Rottenburg am Inn in meinen Banden, am Pfingstag nach Andre, A.D. 1527;
Von der Tauff im Neuen Testament, ganz klärlich entdeckt und erklärt durch den Bruder Leonhard Schiemer, fol. 256-258;
Ein Bekanntnus, 14. tags Januaris 1528, fol 258-259;
Ein schöner Trostbrief an einen schwachen Bruder, fol. 260-263;
Eine Geschicht beschehen zu Glatz in der Schlösing, Clement Adler, der is in den Götzentempel gangen und hat den Pfaffen geheissen still zu sein, fol. 263-264 (a most mysterious affair).

(Leonhard Schiemer?): Ein feiner oder schöner Artikel von der Prob des Geistes, in Frag und Antwort, auch Gegenred (a sort of catechism, most likely for the Rattenberg church), fol. 264'-271;
Folgt ein schöner, klarer Unterricht oder Unterweisung eines gottseligen oder Gott wohlgefälligen Lebens, fol. 272-276;
Nun folgt ein Artikel, Exempel von den bösen, gottlosen Weibern und was die Schrift darvon sagt, fol. 276-281;
Allhie nachfolgt ein schöner Artikel, nämlich Lehr, Vermahnung oder Warnung von den bösen Weibern, wie die Geschrift darvon sagt, fol. 281-286;
Folgt ein Artikel Von der Kinderzucht und was die Heilige Schrift sagt, fol. 286'-299

Ulrich Stadler: Ein kurzer Unterricht Ulrich Stadlers der Sünd halben, auch des Ausschlusses und wie es darin steht; auch der Gemeinschaft der zeitlichen Güter halben, wider die, so des Herren

Werk, Band und Strick schelten, mit wahrhaftiger Zeugnus der heiligen Geschrift, fol. 301-304;
Von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen, fol. 304'-305';
Von der Ordnung der Heiligen in ihrer Gemeinschaft und Leben, mit den Gütern ihres Vaters allhie in ihrer Wohlfahrt in dem Herzen, fol. 305'-308;
Die Epistel an die Gemein zu Crasnicktau, gesandt von Ladomir aus Podolien, 1536, fol. 308-9;
Eine andere Epistel, auch der Gemein zu Crasnicktau gesandt, fol. 309-310.

Michael Sattler: Brüderliche Vereinigung etzlicher Kinder Gottes, sieben Artikel betreffend (1527), fol. 310-315;
Epistel an die Gemein Gottes zu Horb, fol. 315-318;
Die Artikel und Handlung Michael Sattlers, 21. Mai 1527, fol. 318-321.

Claus Felbinger: Abgeschrift des Glaubens, etc. (hard to read), fol. 321-331;
Sendbrief aus seiner Gefangenschaft an Leonhard Sailer, geschrieben am St. Johannistag, fol. 333-335;
Ein ander Sendbrief (concerning his trial), fol. 336-348.

Brüder auf dem Mör (i.e., the Falckenstein prisoners, now in Trieste or on their way to Genoa, 1540): Rechenschaft und Zeuckhnuss unsres Glaubens, darumb wir Trübsal und Gefenckhnuss dulden und leiden, was uns Gott zugeschickt umb solcher Bekanntnus willen, die wir tun mit Wort und Tat, fol. 349-358.

Die gefangenen hingeführten Brüder bum Mör: Sendbrief, 1539, fol. 359-361.

Peter Rideman: 34 Episteln (1537-1549) fol. 362-434;
Rechenschaft und Bekanntnus des Glaubens, geschrieben zu Gmunden in Oesterreich (1529-1532), fol. 435-460.

Antony Erdtfordter: Urlaubsbrief an die zu Clagenfurt, 1538, fol. 461-479.

Johannes Landtsperger (active 1527-29, see *ME* III): Selections from his printed works, without titles:
Der allmächtige, ewige Gott hat erstlich durch Mosen und Propheten geboten, etc. (including the parable Wie ein Zimmerman ein Haus ganz und gar verfertigt);
Ceremonien oder Sitten im Alten Testament;
Das Gesetz (*a*) der Werke und des Lebens, (*b*) der Sünde und des Todes, (*c*) des Geistes und des Glaubens;
Ein kurzer Begriff und Auslegung, was denn sei die vier Tier Apoca. IIII, mit der Weissagung der vier Zahlen, die hin und wieder in der Geschrift gefunden werden, fol. 480-483.

Hans Langenmantel: Ein gründlicher Unterricht von der greulichen Mess, fol. 484-499;
Hernach folget christliches und pabstliches Abentmal, Vergleichung und Widerspiel;
Vom Nachtmal des Herren, aus Matthäus, Markus, Lukas, Paulus, fol. 484-499 (This entire item is also called "Vom Abendmahl.");
Verantwortung des Nachtmahls oder Brotbrechens, fol. 499-502;
Ein göttliche und gründliche Offenbarung von dem wahrhaften Widertauff, mit götlicher Wahrheit angezeight, 1527, fol. 502-514;
Eine schöne Auslegung des Vater Unser, fol 514'-518 (might be compared with Leonhard Schiemer's similar paraphrase above, fol. 494-250).

Hans Denck: Was geredt sei, dass die Geschrift sagt, etc., fol. 518-528.

Hänsel Schmid: 17 Episteln aus dem Gefängnis zu Aachen, 1558, fol. 529-575 (the first epistle is extremely long, fol. 529-540);
Rechenschaft vom Abendmahl Christi und seiner rechten Bedeutung, unchristlicher Gebrauch, gemacht durch Hänsel Schmidt aus seiner Gefenckhnuss zu Aach, fol. 575-580.
Heinrich Adam, auch genannt Kramer: Drei Sendbriefe aus Aachen, 1558, fol. 580-583.
Franz Wälsch (i.e., Francesco della Sega): Ein Sendbrief aus Venedig, 8. September 1563, fol. 583,-585.
Hans Mändel oder Klein Hänsel: Drei Episteln, 1551 und 1561, fol. 586-600;
Glaubensbekanntnus dreier Mannspersonen: Hans Mändel, Eustachius Kotter und Jörg Rack, 1561, fol. 602-609.
Hänsel Hueter (i.e., Mang): Brief an seine eheliche Schwester Gredl, aus Sundthofen im Algey, fol. 610-613.
Conrad Schuster (i.e., Heinzemann): Ein Sendbrief von Wien aus der Gefenckhnuss an die Aeltesten der Gemein Gottes zu Märhern (1559), fol. 614-617.
Caspar Braitmichel: Ein Bussbrief in die Schlesing an seinen Vetter Casper, Datum Märhern, den December (no year), fol. 618-625.

This volume seems to have been the prototype of all later similar Anabaptist codices (with the exception of the *Kunstbuch* which slightly precedes our book), a complete devotional library in itself, leading and guiding the brethren at home and on their hazardous missionary trips. Here they learned what their faith really meant, existentially, to be sure, and not only intellectually. The inclusion of so many early tracts (those prior to 1530) seems to have made this book particularly valuable, even though most of them have been known from other sources as well.

But this generalization is not true in every regard. For instance, nowhere else do we find all the tracts of Leonhard Schiemer united in this way, besides a number of unknown items interpreted as instructions (written in prison) for the budding Rattenberg community.[11] Of particular interest appears to me one page at the conclusion of Schiemer's *Eine hüpsche Erklärung der XII Stücke christlichen Glaubens,* which carries the following remarkable diagram summarizing at a glance the central doctrine of Anabaptist life (fol. 240):

11 See article "Rattenberg," in *ME* IV.

Gott verleih uns Gnad und Geduld und standhaften Glauben unterm Creutz, und bekleide uns mit einem neuen Menschen, der nach ihm erschaffen.

This diagram is followed on the next page (fol. 240') by a brief meditation on silence:

Stillschweigen: Ein christlich gottförchtiger Mench schweigt bis zu seiner Zeit/weiss wol wenn es Zeit ist, darumb dass die Zeit bös und gefärlich ist/keins vertraut seim Nächsten/soll sich auch keiner auff ein Fürsten verlassen/verwar die Thüer deines Mundts/verdore die, die in deiner Schoss liegt/Ursach, der Sohn wird den Vater verunehren, die Tochter wird die Muetter sich lauen/darumb sagt der Weise Mann (Eccl. 3): Schweigen hat sein Zeit/Reden hat sein Zeit/also musst ein Zeit schweigen bis zur verordneten Zeit/do der Herr die Fürsten zu Schandten macht.
Geist gebürt [gebiert] *Forcht,* die Forcht Gottes gebürt rechte Erkanntnus, gebürt rechte Lieb, wie Johannes sagt. Das wir haben erkannt und der Lieb geglaubt/Ungefärbte Lieb gebürt einen bewerten Glauben/Die Lieb glaubt alles/Und dergleichen: die Lieb ist eine Erfüllung des Gesetzes./Der mich liebt, der hält meine Worte/die Gott lieben, denen dienet es alles zum Besten/ein erfahrener Glaub kann sich alles Guets zu Gott verstehen/auch ganz ergeben/Waget alles, das er hat und vermag/Glaub gebürt Rechtfertigung/Rechtfertigung gebürt Erleuchtung oder Herrlich-Machung/Herrlich-Machung gebürt Jesu Christo gleich zu werden.

The section of Leonhard Schiemer's writings is introduced on folio 241 by the following paragraph:

> Allhie sein etliche schöne Artikeln und Geschriften nach Grund der Wahrheit gestellt und gemacht von treuen und frummen Zeugen der Wahrheit. Erstlich manicherlei schöne Artikel vom lieben Brueder Leonhard Schimer, samtlich einer feinen Vorred anfencklich.

A likely assumption is that all these and a few more pieces had been collected by the valiant Rattenberg church (which had more than seventy martyrs during a rather brief history) and put together in a booklet, the great inheritance from their first "bishop." This booklet was then brought to Moravia when congregational life became impossible in the Tyrol. The items: "Prob des Geistes" (a catechism), "Unterweisung eines Gott wohlgefälligen Lebens," the strange item "Von den bösen Weibern und was die Geschrift dazu sagt," and the educational tract, "Von der Kinderzucht" (fol. 264'-299), here anonymously presented, seem to have originated with Leonhard Schiemer, who while awaiting his fate was anxious to give his "children" as much guidance and advice as possible. This is not only the impression of the present writer but also of the late Bishop Elias Walter, who, in his edition of the *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, 1914), page 19, lists all these anonymous tracts as the work of Schiemer. It certainly adds a great deal to our picture of this outstanding early Anabaptist leader and martyr.[12]

That Schiemer's contemporary brother Hans Schlaffer was a great master of prayer becomes also strikingly clear from this codex, which has all his prayers (especially his long one written in the night before his execution, fol. 212-219) in such a form that the value becomes immediately evident.[13]

The most valuable part, however, of the entire codex seems to be found in folii 362-434: the complete collection of Peter Riedemann's 34 epistles, found nowhere else, an inestimable source not only for our appreciation of this great leader but also for our knowledge of the background of his *Rechenschaft* of 1541, and in general for the history of Anabaptism *c*1537-1549, including the story of the little known Philippites.[14] It is somewhat strange that no other Hutterite codex contains these epistles[15] in view of the high esteem in which this outstanding leader was held throughout all Hutterite history. There is but one surprising slant to this topic: the compiler of the codex did not also connect the collective missive No. 2, dated 1545 (fol. 35-42) with Riedemann. Although written in the name of the

12 Cf. Friedmann, "Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, two Early Anabaptist Martyrs," MQR XXXIII (January 1959).

13 Some of these prayers will be published in the forthcoming volume by Lydia Müller and Robert Friedmann, *Glaubenszeugnisse deutscher Täufer*, II (Gütersloh, 1960); more material of this kind is planned for the next volume of the Täuferakten, the *Briefe der Täufer*.

14 The article "Riedemann," in *ME* IV, is in part based on this collection of epistles.

15 The entire collection of Riedemann letters will be published in the planned volume of *Briefe*.

entire brotherhood to the Landeshauptmann (governor) of Moravia, there can be little doubt that it was conceived and written by Riedemann, at that time the only brother able to write such an epistle.[16]

This then is the codex. It is most gratifying that the opportunity arose to microfilm it in 1958 at the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College, where it also will be re-enlarged and printed positively, thus making available to scholars a wide range of original Anabaptist sources of the highest order.

16 Joseph Beck published parts of this letter in his *Geschichts-Bücher der österreichischen Wiedertäufer* (Vienna, 1883) pp. 169-173, as an anonymous epistle.

JACOB WISLER AND THE OLD ORDER MENNONITE SCHISM OF 1872 IN ELKHART COUNTY, INDIANA

JOHN C. WENGER*

1. BACKGROUND AND SETTLEMENT

Elkhart County is part of the vast area known as the Northwest Territory from 1787 until 1800, when the United States Congress carved from it the Indiana Territory and Michigan Territory. In 1816 Indiana Territory became the state of Indiana. The first known white settlers in what is now Elkhart County came in 1827, three years before the county was officially created.[1] In 1843 a Mennonite named John Smith, from Medina County, Ohio, purchased a farm at Harrison Center, one mile north of the present Yellow Creek Mennonite Church, eight miles due west of Goshen, and settled there two years later. The first known Mennonite settler in Elkhart County was Bishop Martin Hoover (Huber in German), born in Germany about 1760, the son of immigrant Ludwig Hoover, who settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1764. Martin found his way to Franklin County, Pennsylvania, where he was evidently ordained as a preacher, for he often preached with "old Peter Lehman" in Franklin County. Later he moved to the Markham district in Canada, north of Toronto, and in 1837 moved on to Medina County, Ohio. He was ordained as bishop by Bishop Abraham Rohrer in the spring of 1845, just before he left Medina County for Elkhart County in June with his son John, evidently so that as a Mennonite settlement developed in Elkhart County he would be able to baptize converts and give communion to members of the church. The bishop, a tall man, with long white hair and a long white beard, was then 85 years old. As the party made its way across southern Michigan, boys would call out, "Come and see this old man."[2] The Hoovers settled on the farm now owned by Dr. M. L. Weldy at the east edge of the village of South West, one mile south and six miles west of Goshen. Sometime during the summer of 1845 "old Jacob Strohm" also settled in Elkhart County. On October 3, 1845, three more families came: those of Christian Henning, Joseph Smith, and his father John Smith, the man who made the 1843 purchase and who later moved to Ontario in 1856, where he died. Strohm was at the Hoover home when Henning and the Smiths arrived. Because of the small number

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1 Elkhart County histories are as follows: Anthony Deahl, *History and Biographical Record of Elkhart County, Ind.* (Chicago and New York, 1905); Abraham E. Weaver, *History of Elkhart County, Indiana*, 2vv (Chicago and New York, 1916); Anon., *History of Elkhart County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1881); H. S. K. Bartholomew, *Stories and Sketches of Elkhart County* (privately printed, 1936); *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Elkhart Co., Indiana* (Chicago, 1874).

2 Manuscript notes of John F. Funk in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.

of Mennonites in Harrison Township, as well as Bishop Hoover's advanced age, only a few services were held before 1848, when a number of Mennonite families arrived from Columbiana County, Ohio. In that spring came Christian Christophel and Preacher Jacob Christophel (1782-1868), a native of Rothenbach in the Palatinate (he had come to Pennsylvania in 1818 and had found his way to the Jacob's Creek or Scottdale settlement in the western part of the state, where Bishop David Funk ordained him as a preacher in Allegheny County in 1827). The third 1848 settler in Elkhart County was Preacher Jacob Wisler (1808-1889), who later played a major role in the history of the Mennonites of Elkhart County. He was ordained bishop by Abraham Rohrer of Medina County, Ohio. During the summer twenty-four additional Mennonite families came to Elkhart County, with names such as Hartman, Holdeman, Moyer, and Smeltzer, from the counties of Columbiana, Wayne, Medina, and Ashland in Ohio. The first service with the new preachers present was held, according to tradition, on Ascension Day, which in 1848 fell on Thursday, June 1. Jacob Wisler preached the main sermon. Bishop Hoover, then a man of 88, made a few remarks without rising. There was no singing, for no one was able to lead. This service was held in a log schoolhouse on the northwest corner of the farm where the Hoovers located in 1845, later occupied by Preacher Joseph Rohrer. This log building was one-half mile north of the village of South West, just a little south of the present Yellow Creek Church of the Brethren, but on the east side of the road.

2. More Preachers Arrive[3]

About 1848 Daniel Moyer (1812-1864) came to Elkhart County. He was a son of Samuel Moyer of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, although Daniel moved to Elkhart County from Ashland County, Ohio. Daniel Moyer was presumably ordained preacher at Yellow Creek about 1850. In late December 1864 he set out for Ontario by train with two other Mennonite preachers and was killed in a wreck at Osseo near Hillsdale, Michigan, on December 21. Funeral services were held at the Shaum (Olive) Meetinghouse on Christmas Day. About 1850 Joseph Rohrer (1801-1884), also a preacher, moved to Elkhart County. He was a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, had been ordained in 1830 in the Rowland congregation in Stark County, Ohio, now the site of First Mennonite Church of Canton. He settled near South West. Preacher John Bare (1810-

3 Information from histories, obituaries, John F. Funk diaries and memorandums, and articles in Mennonite periodicals such as the *Herald of Truth,* and the *Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac.*

1855), a native Virginian, located west of New Paris in the early years of the Elkhart County Mennonite settlement and preached for a few years before his untimely death at the age of forty-five. Benjamin Hershey (1814-1888) of Ontario located in Elkhart County about 1850, and ten years later moved on to Sterling, Illinois. In 1852 Preacher Jacob Freed (1796-1868), a Virginian who had been ordained in Ohio about 1838, settled in Elkhart County. John Snyder (1807-1886), a preacher in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, moved to Elkhart County in 1856, and went on to Kansas in 1872. In 1853 a small group of Frisian Mennonites from Balk, Netherlands, came to Elkhart County as permanent settlers, led by preachers Ruurd J. Sijmensma (1816-1854) and Ruurd J. Smid (1814-1893). John Bare had a younger brother, Christian Bare (1816-1904), a preacher who had been ordained in Putnam County, Ohio, in 1856 and had moved to Elkhart County the next year. Bare, a very able man, was a major supporter of Jacob Wisler in later decades. In 1858 Daniel Brundage (1812-95), who had been ordained as a preacher in York County, Ontario, in 1845, moved to Elkhart County; in 1869 he moved on to Missouri, but returned as an aged man. John Nusbaum (1800-1876), of the Canton of Bern, Switzerland, immigrated to Ashland County, Ohio, about 1818, and in 1827 he was ordained as a preacher. He settled east of Goshen in 1860 and became the first resident preacher in the Clinton Brick congregation. Three Mennonite deacons died in Elkhart County in the 1860's: David Good (1804-1864), formerly of Ontario; Benjamin Hoover (1778-1866), also of Ontario; and Henry Newcomer (1813-1867), probably of eastern Ohio.

The next two preachers were destined to play major roles in the life of the church and to become even more prominent than Jacob Wisler; Daniel Brenneman (1834-1919),[4] ordained preacher in Fairfield County, Ohio, in 1857, who located in Elkhart County in 1864, and John F. Funk (1835-1930),[5] of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, who was ordained preacher in Grundy County, Illinois, in 1865 and who settled in the city of Elkhart in 1867. These two were among the ablest preachers of that time in the entire Mennonite Church. Brenneman was a highly popular preacher, broad-minded, vigorous, with a flexible mind which adjusted easily to such innovations as the adoption of English in the life of the church, prayer meetings, and evangelistic meetings (then called "protracted meetings").

4 In addition to published sources on Daniel Brenneman, I interviewed his widow, Della Mae (Troyer) Brenneman (1879-) on Sept. 4, 1957.

5 Funk's papers, diaries, correspondence, memorandums, and records of all kinds are preserved in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Ind.

Funk had been a schoolteacher in Pennsylvania, a businessman in Chicago, a co-worker with D. L. Moody in Chicago Sunday schools, and was from 1864 the publisher of the first successful Mennonite church paper, *The Herald of Truth,* and its German counterpart, *Der Herold der Wahrheit.* Funk had a keen mind, a warm heart, a vigorous personality, and strong qualities of leadership. He had also a deep consciousness of the spiritual heritage of the Mennonite Church, and was eager to strengthen his church in its historic faith and to bring new life to it through a well-balanced teaching program and through the introduction of the Sunday school.

3. Meetinghouses

In the first thirty years of their history the Elkhart County Mennonites built six meetinghouses. The first was Yellow Creek on the site of the old cemetery on the east side of the road across the road from the present Yellow Creek frame meetinghouse. This was a log building, twenty-six feet square, built in 1849, and later enlarged by an addition of twenty-four feet. In 1861 the Yellow Creek Mennonites bought a lot on the west side of the road and built a new frame house of worship forty by sixty feet; this building is still standing, although it was renovated about 1900 and enlarged in 1953/54. The second Mennonite meetinghouse was a log building, located two and one fourth miles east of Foraker on the south side of the road, in the west-central part of section 6 of Jackson Township, erected on the farm of Preacher Jacob Christophel and hence called Christophels. It was used until the erection of the Salem meetinghouse in 1889. The third meetinghouse was Holdemans, built in 1851 directly across the road from the present church by that name, one mile west of Wakarusa, in size about twenty-four by thirty-four feet. This was replaced by the present frame church in 1875. The fourth congregation to build a meetinghouse was Clinton (now called Clinton Brick) in Clinton Township, ten miles due east of Goshen, where a log building was put up in 1854, replaced by a brick structure in 1880. The Shaum frame meetinghouse (now Olive) was built in 1861/62; prior to this the congregation worshiped in a log building along the Baugo Creek about nine-tenths of a mile north of the present meetinghouse, which was built in 1888. The old Yellow Creek log meetinghouse was moved to Union Township in 1861, where it became known as the Blosser meetinghouse. The Elkhart city meetinghouse was built in 1871 on South Prairie Street at the south edge of the city. Worship was also conducted in the Lake schoolhouse in Lagrange County (now called Shore meetinghouse), in the Jonesville schoolhouse six miles south of Elkhart, and in

Culp's and Metzler's schoolhouses, the last three all in Elkhart County; and at the Johnson, Poplar Grove, and Mixel (near Crumstown) schoolhouses in St. Joseph County. (The Amish Mennonite meetinghouses are not listed here.)

4. Tension Develops, 1866

It is not known when the first Mennonite ordinations in Elkhart County occurred after the ordination of Wisler as bishop in 1851. Almost all of the twenty or more preachers and deacons who located here before the Civil War had come from Ohio and Ontario. (Some died soon after arrival, and others moved on westward.) David Good, deacon of the Yellow Creek congregation, wrote to Funk in Chicago that on May 31, 1862, a preacher and a deacon were to be ordained in Elkhart County. The preacher chosen was likely John M. Christophel (1819-1886). Daniel Brenneman reported in *The Herald of Truth* that on April 3, 1864, votes were taken at Yellow Creek toward the ordination of two deacons. Before the end of the 1860's at least five ordained deacons served in the county: John Troxel, Joseph Holdeman, Tobias Ramer, David B. Martin and Henry B. Brenneman (1831-87), Daniel Brenneman's brother, who had followed him to Indiana in 1867. An earlier deacon, John Oyer, who was attached to the Holdeman congregation, was ordained in the 1850's, and was succeeded *c*1862 by Joseph Holdeman. (Oyer left the church.) Brenneman was ordained in Ohio.

The Mennonites of Elkhart County flourished at first. When John F. Funk of Chicago visited the annual fall conference at Yellow Creek in 1862 he partook of communion for the first time in his life. He was deeply impressed by the vigorous and forward-looking attitude of the church. Much of the credit probably went to the able bishop, John M. Brenneman of Elida, Ohio. Brenneman presided at the conference, and was probably the one who baptized the 46 converts and served communion to the several hundred members assembled for the occasion. "Rev. Brenneman is a very earnest preacher," wrote Funk in his diary for October 11, 1862. But trouble was not long in coming. Bishop Wisler had two opponents in Joseph Rohrer (preacher) and Joseph Holdeman (deacon). Rohrer (1801-1884) was a vigorous preacher inclined to be somewhat exuberant as he preached. Wisler, on the other hand, felt that Christian ministers should remain quiet in spirit and emotionally restrained at all times, especially while teaching God's Word. He therefore remonstrated with Rohrer, hurt his feelings, and probably expelled him. Rohrer then united with the Evangelical Church and preached the rest of his life at their church a half mile north of the Yellow Creek meeting-

house, where the old Evangelical Cemetery is still located. John Oyer must have sympathized with Rohrer or his sentiments, for he too united with the Evangelicals. The other man who had trouble getting along with his fellow ministers including Bishop Wisler was Joseph Holdeman (1823-94), a deacon of the Holdeman congregation. At the 1866 sessions of the Indiana Conference "great disorder" prevailed, according to Funk's diary; "dissensions among the brethren," he wrote. And yet he was able to add, "difficulties settled" (October 12, 1866). The success was probably due to the good leadership of Bishop John M. Brenneman of Ohio. But that fall, when Funk spent the night with Daniel Brenneman of Elkhart County, Joseph Holdeman sat up with the two preachers until two o'clock in the morning reporting on "the difficulties between him and the Bishop, Brother Wisler" (Funk's diary for October 15, 1866).

5. Bishop Jacob Wisler, 1808-1889

Since an adequate biographical sketch of Wisler has never been published, perhaps it would be well to summarize here what is known of him.[6] Jacob Wisler was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, October 31, 1808, the eighth of the eleven children of Christian Wisler (d. 1830) and his wife Susan Holdeman Wisler (1774-1838). The Wislers were likely members of the Deep Run congregation of the Franconia Conference. About 1820 the Wisler family removed to Columbiana County, Ohio, where Jacob and his brothers and sisters grew to adulthood. The first Mennonite meetinghouse in Columbiana County was Oberholtzers (now Midway) named for Bishop Jacob Oberholtzer, on whose land it was built. Oberholtzer and his colleague Jacob Nold were also of Bucks County, so Wisler grew up under strong Franconia Conference influences. On November 19, 1827, Jacob Wisler was united in marriage with Mary Hoover (1808-1860). To this union seven children were born: (1) David (1830-1902) was married to Christene Shank (1834-1896) and had nine children. He was a Wisler Mennonite deacon; (2) Hannah (1832-1899), mentally ill, but kept at home; (3) Susanna (1834-1903), married to Henry D. Culp (1833-1902), had ten children; (4) Magdalena (1836-1885), married to David Culp (1832-1933), had twelve children; (5) Mary (1840-1884), married to Joseph G. Culp (1842-1900), had nine children. Joseph Culp was a school teacher and a county trustee, and since he was disciplined for holding a political office, he and his family removed to Harvey County, Kansas. (6) The youngest child was John H. Whisler (not Wisler) (1842-1916),

6 These biographical data are based on the sketch in *Pictorial and Biographical Memories of Elkhart and St. Joseph Counties, Indiana* (Chicago, 1893) 440, 441;

married to Christiana Weaver (1853-1889), daughter of Preacher John B. Weaver, who had three children, the youngest of whom, Jonas L. Whistler (b. 1872), was still living in 1958. Jacob Wisler's sons-in-law were three Culp brothers. (7) Catherine, who died young, was buried in Ohio. In 1833, while still living in Columbiana County, Jacob Wisler was ordained preacher, probably by Jacob Nold, and certainly in the Oberholtzer (Midway) meetinghouse. By June 1848 Jacob Wisler and family had located in Elkhart County, where Bishop Martin Hoover died in 1850. The next year Bishop Abraham Rohrer of Medina County, Ohio, a cousin of the more progressive preacher Joseph Rohrer, came to Elkhart County and ordained Wisler to the office of bishop.[7] Wisler was a farmer, his home being in Section 19 of Harrison Township, one mile north of the Yellow Creek meetinghouse and 2¾ miles west. His second wife was Catherine Knopp (1819-88). Wisler weighted over two hundred pounds, was of a quiet disposition, peaceable, kindly, pleasant, and cheerful. He had, says Henry Weaver (b. 1869), "an even way of speaking." He did not preach much as he approached the age of eighty, but his grandson, Jonas L. Whisler, remembers driving him to church and tying his horse for him. In those last years Wisler still "gave testimony" to the sermons he heard, remaining seated on the pulpit bench as was the Bucks County custom. As he addressed his congregation, he often remarked, "Nur einmal machet euer Ende gut" (Be sure to make your end good). On Wednesday, May 1, 1889, he died. Funeral sermons were preached by Christian Shaum, a bishop, and Martin A. Hoover.

6. Wisler's Difficult Position

Deacon Joseph Holdeman criticised Wisler for being too lenient in discipline. Although Holdeman had many good qualities he seems to have been inclined to be quarrelsome, for during his career he became involved with Jacob Wisler, J. A. Beutler, J. M. Christophel, James Culbertson, and even with the Holdeman congregation, where he seems to have abruptly terminated his deacon service about 1880. Funk noted in his diary that Holdeman was "boisterous and self-righteous to the extreme" (February 1, 1880). Holdeman insisted that Wisler forbid the unbaptized girls to wear hoopskirts and that he discipline the parents who permitted it. Wisler felt that it was enough to preach against such conformity to the foolish fashions of the world. The dissension was intensified in 1864, when the able and progressive preacher Daniel Brenneman settled in Elkhart County. Brenneman never had any intention of yielding to Wisler's scruples,

7 John F. Funk's historical notes.

whether on bass singing or evening meetings. Joseph Rohrer and John Oyer were gone, but Wisler stood between two vastly different critics, the conservative Joseph Holdeman and the progressive Daniel Brenneman. Wisler was of a conservative turn of mind and looked to the rather conservative Bishop Abraham Rohrer (1788-1878) of Wadsworth, Ohio, for counsel and direction. Daniel Brenneman was probably in continuous correspondence with John M. Brenneman, his brother, the natural leader of the Ohio Mennonite Conference. The latter in turn became much concerned for the welfare of the church in Elkhart County.

7. J. M. Brenneman Advises Funk

When Bishop John M. Brenneman learned that Funk, preacher and editor-publisher of *The Herald of Truth,* was planning to move from Chicago to Elkhart, Brenneman wrote Funk an earnest letter under date of March 18, 1867, which included the following:

> I sincerely hope that your moving to Elkhart [County] may be a blessing to that church. A great deal is depending upon the ministers to bring her into a flourishing state again, as a great wound has been struck which still is in a festering condition. I was fully convinced the last two times I was there that there is fault on both sides, and each party seems to be jealous of the other. There was a good deal of complaint brought to me against their bishop, and I thought some was too groundless. That he is just the man he should be in every respect I will not affirm. But who is there without fault? I know that the bishop in Elkhart [County] has a great burden resting upon him. And to do in all things exactly right in such a large church requires a strong and skillful man indeed, and one that possesses more wisdom than either I or Brother Wisler does.
>
> I think that if the ministers in Elkhart [County] would manifest a little more love, honor, and respect toward their bishop things would work better than they do. They seemed to me to be a little too independent, and work a little too much behind the bishop's back, not willing to do him the honor to ask of him advice and hold counsel with him. And Wisler is not so blind . . . that he cannot see these things. And the members, too, show too much partiality. They have their Paul, Apollos, and their Cephas. And they are too free to let their Pauls and Apolloses know on whose side they are.
>
> Now brother, I tell you these things with a good design, so that you may keep a watchful eye, and that you undertake nothing of importance without the advice of the bishop. Try to gain his favor and esteem, so that he can have confidence in you. And then I think you can get along with him. It is true, Wisler is opposed to the *Herald,* but for this I cannot blame him so very much, as Brother Rohrer is his counselor. He (Rohrer) has prophesied that we would all be Methodists before we were aware. . . . Now I hope that you will try your best with the help of God to heal the wound in Elkhart. When they complain to you about the bishop, try to caution them. Try to reason with them. Ask them whether they earnestly and frequently pray for him. And tell them what a heavy burden is resting

upon him, and they should have patience with him, as the Saviour had with Peter. And that they ought to manifest love and honor toward him.

Brother, I feel very much interested for you, for I know that many jealous eyes are watching your movements with regard to the *Herald* and also with regard to your ministry, because you are a little better educated than the generality of our ministers. . . . O brother, be watchful. . . . Never let the confidence which I have placed in you be frustrated.

8. Tension Mounts, 1867

Funk moved to Elkhart in April 1867, but was unable to restore unity in the Elkhart County church. Wisler was at this point fifty-seven years old, while both Funk and Brenneman were thirty-two. Wisler had been ordained a preacher before either was born. On June 23, 1867, a ministerial meeting was held at Yellow Creek to investigate the charges brought against Bishop Wisler.[8] Jacob Wisler and R. J. Smith (the Frisian) were the bishops present; preachers present were Daniel Brundage (age 55), Christian Bare (41), Jacob Freed (71); and J. F. Funk (32); the deacons present were John Troxel (50); Henry Newcomer (54); and Joseph Holdeman (44). Funk mentions Jacob Shaum in first place as conducting the examination. This is probably a mistake for Bishop John Shaum (69), of Wayne County, Ohio, who had then been a preacher for 37 years and a bishop since about 1864. A large number of petty charges were brought against Wisler, some of them rather general, such as that he did not show love toward the brethren (evidently the ministers are meant). He was accused of saying that nothing new was to be brought into the church, "even if we had Scripture for it," probably a reference to Sunday schools and perhaps an acknowledgement that he felt unable to argue with Funk effectively. Other charges were that he spoke disparagingly of the new birth, that he had received complaints from brethren who had not been obedient to Matthew 18:15, 16 as to the brotherly address, and that he refused to accept any blame for the troubles in the church.

Another meeting of the ministry was held at Yellow Creek on June 28, 1867, in the effort to get the difficulties ironed out. Wisler was finally broken down by the many accusations heaped upon him and agreed to desist from preaching until the church should call him again. On July 21 it was announced at Yellow Creek that the counsel of the church would be taken on Saturday, August 17, 1867, as to whether Wisler should resume preaching. The resulting vote was as follows: that Wisler should remain silent, 127; that Wisler, Holde-

8 The detailed information which follows is taken from Funk's diaries, notes, private papers, and correspondence, all preserved in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

man, and Brenneman should all remain silent until Conference, 5; that Wisler should resume preaching, 119. Thus Wisler's ministry remained suspended, but only for one more day!

Meanwhile John M. Brenneman was active. He wrote to Funk on July 27 and August 5, 1867. In the second letter he pleaded that Funk be careful, that he move cautiously, and that he stay neutral. If the difficulties could not soon be settled, Brenneman urged that out-of-state leaders be called in to help adjust matters. He suggested as possible leaders to undertake this task: David Sherk, John Bare, Bishop Hagey and Tilman Moyer of Canada; and John Lapp of New York state. He asked Funk to reason with Daniel Brenneman, his brother. In the meantime Daniel Brenneman had written to his brother John reporting that he had held only eight or ten evening meetings during the previous winter, and that "good order" had been maintained. (By this he meant that no emotional excesses had prevailed, as was sometimes the case with the Methodists in those days.)

In 1867 there was living in Jefferson Township, Williams County, Ohio, a bishop with convictions very similar to Wisler's, namely Isaac Hoffer (1799-1880). Wisler had asked Hoffer to come to Yellow Creek on August 17 to take the vote on his restoration. The outcome of the vote displeased Hoffer. The next day, Sunday, there were again services at Yellow Creek. Hoffer probably preached a German sermon. Funk recorded in his diary that he himself "spoke some in the English language," which sounds like the "opening" which preceeded the main sermon in those days. In any case no one was prepared for what happened after dismissal. Hoffer requested the members of the church to remain. He then high-handedly restored Wisler to his office, contrary to the decision of the church the day before. And even more autocratically he suspended Daniel Brenneman and his supporters. He also declared that any bishop who would disturb these arrangements would place himself into the same situation as Daniel Brenneman and bring upon himself the same penalties! He accused Brenneman of being disobedient to the Conference and of baptizing converts (a bishop's work in Mennonite polity). It is not clear whether there was any additional "disobedience" beyond the performance of baptismal ceremonies.

9. Sixteen Leaders Adjudicate, 1867

These drastic measures of Bishop Hoffer led to a full-scale investigation by a group of sixteen Mennonite leaders who gathered at Yellow Creek on October 11 and 12, 1867. Funk preserved a document of twenty pages summarizing the charges brought against Wisler at this ministers' conference. Funk finally recorded his own eval-

uation. Funk reveals a rather biased attitude toward the bishop: Wisler is self-willed; he drives instead of leading; he speaks recklessly and imprudently; he is harsh and abusive; he lacks love; etc. Funk mentioned only two points of religious practice: Wisler opposes evening meetings and making the first prayer in each church service an audible prayer (in other words Wisler preferred the Franconia Conference practice as opposed to what was being done in Elkhart County). Funk also accused Wisler of saying that Jesus never called Himself the Son of God: this was probably not so much an evidence of heresy, as of being no theologian—if indeed there was any truth in the charge at all. A Sister Christophel complained that when she went to Wisler for spiritual help, finding that she could not keep God's commandments, the bishop replied curtly that she was too much entangled with Rohrer (the preacher whom he seems to have expelled, and who had joined the Evangelicals). The sixteen ministers who met at Yellow Creek in October 1867 drew up the following document (translated from the German):

The Following Decisions Were Taken and Confirmed by the Following Undersigned Bishops and Ministers Assembled at Yellow Creek, October 11, 12, 1867:

It is evident that Bishop Wisler has made the following mistakes:

1. He failed to render Gospel help to a person who came to him for comfort.
2. He failed to discipline according to the Gospel certain persons who deserved to be disciplined.

It was decided and confirmed that Bishop Wisler shall repent, shall acknowledge his mistakes, shall ask the church for forgiveness, and shall henceforth seek to be more prudent.

Further, concerning Brother Brenneman:

1. In that he baptized under these circumstances, he was imprudent, failing to follow the command of the prophet. Isa. 57:2.
2. In that he acted imprudently he committed a mistake.
3. In that he committed a mistake he shall acknowledge that he was not sufficiently prudent.
4. In the event that a sick person desires baptism, and no bishop is available, Daniel Brenneman shall have the right, like any other minister of the Word, to baptize.
5. Further, we recognize that when Brother Brenneman held evening meetings under these circumstances, he acted imprudently. This he shall recognize and confess, and shall seek to act more prudently and more according to love.

Further, concerning Bishop Hoffer:

We recognize that Bishop Isaac Hoffer committed a serious mistake, first, in rejecting the counsel of the congregation; and second, in setting back [from church fellowship], without the counsel of the congregation, Daniel Brenneman and all those supporting him. He shall confess this before the church and earnestly request forgiveness and patience.

Further, concerning Brother Daniel Brundage:

> We recognize that Brother Brundage was not sufficiently prudent when he openly declared that the decision of the Ohio Conference on the duty of bishops was not Biblical (*evangelisch*). He shall confess that this open declaration was a mistake.

From Canada

Joseph Hagey [1810-76]
Henry Schantz [1804-77]
David Sherk [1801-82]
Johannes Baer [1804-94]
Jacob Wideman [1829-99]

From Pennsylvania

George Weber [1818-83]
Christian Bamberger [1818-98]
Johannes Brubacher [1810-88]

From Virginia

John Geil [1799-1889]
Samuel Coffman [1822-94]

From Ohio

Joseph Bixler [1813-95]
Jacob Kolb [1808-80]
Abm. Rohrer [1788-1878]
John Shaum [1799-1882]

From Illinois

Jost Bally [1795-1878]
Henry Yother [1810-1900]

This mild declaration was an attempt to hold the church together and to deal gently with all concerned. It will be observed that the key word was "imprudent." The preachers mentioned were not disciplined fundamentally for sin or for heresy but for being imprudent. Even that was more than human nature liked, of course. The next spring (1868) Preacher Daniel Brundage moved to Missouri. Although the declaration does not state that Wisler was to remain inactive ministerially until he made the required confession to the church, that was probably the intention of the sixteen, and that is precisely how Funk interpreted it; he wrote in his diary: "Many ministers from abroad were present. An examination took place about our church affairs, and resulted in requiring a confession of Danl. Brundage and Daniel Brenneman and Bishop Hoffer, and suspending Bishop Wisler from his office until he should show fruits meet for repentance" (October 11, 1967). Bishop Wisler was certainly a good and honest man, and he knew that Brenneman and Funk were the innovators, not he. He, Wisler, was simply standing on the old foundation, and seeking to keep the church in the same order as he had known it as a boy in Bucks County, and under the same type of discipline as such patriarchal leaders as Bishop Abraham Rohrer had maintained. He apparently was unwilling to permit or to promote changes.

10. Tilman Meyer Effects Peace, 1868

Funk wrote in his diary under date of August 13, 1868:

> . . . Had a talk with Wisler. He is still unyielding in his opinion, and his conditions to a reunion are: (1) That we acknowledge and confess before [the] church that he was unjustly dealt with. (2) We must come under the old usages. And (3) We must admit him to his place.

Under date of September 6, 1868, the venerable Mennonite preacher David Sherk (1801-1882), of Ontario (who was evidently too weak physically to write himself, and had his daughter write), wrote to Funk pleading that he stay calm, that he try to keep down excitement on both sides. He said, "Use all your influence on Bro. Brenneman and Holdeman to be cautious and give in a little, and try with all your power to avoid the dissension of the church, as it might create trouble through all America." It appears, however, that Funk was to rigid and strong-willed to accomplish the healing and unification of the church in Elkhart County. Wisler was standing between two iron men, Holdeman and Daniel Brenneman, each with a following, and no one seemed able to reconcile the three. Funk conceived of his middle group as the "neutral" portion of the church. Bishop Tilman Meyer (in English he was called Dilman Moyer) of the "Twenty" in Ontario, a man of 61 who died five years later, then attempted to do what Funk could not. Meyer brought Bishop Joseph Hagey (1810-1876) to Elkhart County in the fall of 1868 in an attempt to settle the church troubles. His efforts were crowned with success, and he wrote in German the following statement, which Funk preserved (dated October 9, 1868):

> All ministers and deacons present forgave each other for anything they had against each other, and Brother Wisler made an open confession before the church, and he and the church were reconciled. No one opposed him. Joseph Holdeman recognized Jacob Wisler as a brother in the Shaum meetinghouse.
>
> [Wisler's] restoration to Bishop oversight is now dependent upon the ministry, and the congregation shall not call [out-of-state ministers for help] again.
>
> If any one reaches back into the matters which have now been settled and again makes any demands, he will be held as a transgressor.
>
> In the presence of Joseph Hegey,
> Tilman Meyer

11. The Church Divides, March 2, 1869

But once again the peace was only temporary. Wisler was naturally unhappy for the way he had been dealt with. It was impossible to reconcile his views with those of Daniel Brenneman; one of the two had to yield. Joseph Holdeman was quarrelsome and critical by nature, and Funk was probably losing what little respect he still had for Wisler. In any case Funk wrote the following in his diary for March 2, 1869:

> Today I was at the Yellow Creek meetinghouse where the disobedient faction of our church, which has made us so much trouble for so long a time, finally severed themselves from us and called Wisler to be their bishop and leader, and appointed their own meet-

> ings, and expressed the desire that they would let us alone and we should let them alone.

According to Funk's notes, both in German and in English, the events occurred as follows: Funk received word that there would be a meeting at Yellow Creek on Tuesday, March 2, 1869, to restore to Wisler the active bishop oversight of the Elkhart County Mennonite church. Preacher Christian Bare (1816-1904) had made announcement of the plan the previous Sunday. On the appointed Tuesday a number of members as well as preachers Wisler, Bare, Weaver, and Funk were present. Before the service started, Funk served notice of his inability to approve of the proposed plan of action. After the singing of two hymns John B. Weaver (1821-1907), preacher, a staunch supporter of Wisler, arose and remarked that the purpose of the meeting was known to all, namely to call Brother Wisler to resume his preaching ministry. He then continued (in German), "Come, therefore, Brother Wisler, and take your place." Wisler then took his seat behind the desk and took a book. At this point Funk spoke up and asked by what authority this was being done [without congregational action]. He was told that at the last conference the bishops had said that Wisler should be recalled as soon as possible. Christian Bare then preached the "opening," and after a silent prayer Wisler preached "some two hours" on the first several verses of Romans XII. After his sermon Wisler made a separate appointment for himself and his group at Yellow Creek the next Sunday, March 7, 1869 (evidently a Sunday on which the Yellow Creek meetinghouse was not normally in use). He said that at that service further appointments would be announced. Funk's report states that Wisler said further "that they would let us alone, and they would want us to let them alone." Funk adds rather bitterly, ". . . thus severing themselves from us, and pretending at the same time that they are the church." The division was complete, even though it did not become permanent at this point.

On April 16, 1869, Funk and his fellow ministers and deacons met at the Shaum meetinghouse and "determined to remain steadfast on the old foundation, and try to be faithful, and as many as possible to go to Conference." Some of the leaders also began to think that the best thing to do was submit the whole problem to the Ohio Conference.

On May 11, 1869, nine deeply concerned Ontario Mennonite leaders met at Preston, Ontario, and addressed an earnest appeal (in German) to the Elkhart County church and its leaders (*Vorstand*):

A brotherly greeting and a wish for blessings from the undersigned Canadian ministers to all brethren and sisters, and especially to the leadership of the church in Elkhart County, Indiana, without differentiation or respect of persons.

We hereby inform you that we gathered from your letters that there are, as Paul says, divisions among you, and you know well, dear Brethren, what Paul writes further on the subject.

With sorrow we gathered that you are again in part divided, and especially since we are informed or have heard that the occasion for the division is supposed to have been Brother Hegy's letter. Brother Hegy does not think that he wrote in such a way; at least he had no such intention. And if indeed his writing was so understood, he is very sorry, for he did not wish to cause such action. But since misunderstandings occur or can arise among us human beings from writing and speaking, they are therefore very human. But dear brethren, do consider, as in the presence of God, that divisions are still more human. Paul calls them, in short, carnal; and the Spirit of Christ has never been the cause of any. He, if we follow Him aright, always leads us together, and unites us with God and with one another in brotherly love.

And since we take it that you are minded to take the matter to the Ohio Conference to be adjudicated, we as your loving brethren wish to request you, including both of your groups, not to take the matter to any other conference. It is our fear that this might provide an occasion to bring confusion into all the congregations of America and into Canada. Our counsel is this: Keep the matter confined as close to home as possible, earnestly cry to God that He may fill you all with the spirit of love and forgiveness, and then you yourselves attempt to resolve the difficulty according to the apostolic rule with the Word of God, and according to our nonresistant Confession of Faith.

Follow the counsel of the Apostle: Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed. And then God's blessing will rest upon you.

But if you are unable to accomplish this unity yourselves, we would feel that it would be much better and more advisable, both for you and for the congregations in other areas, to choose nonresident disinterested men to visit you, in order that by God's help they might assist you to reunite the two parties. For we do not believe that God wishes us at present particularly to accept or reject either side.

We commend you to God. Amen. We remain your loving brethren in the Lord.

[*In a different hand:*] It is also our hope that the Ohio Conference will not be disposed to render a verdict under such serious circumstances when there is so much danger of still further confusing the congregations, until it has been thoroughly examined locally with the Word of God, and until a most diligent effort has been made to straighten out the matter. This was what the apostles always kept before them: not to confirm divisions but to avert them, and to bring their brethren together again in the bond of love.

Joseph Hagey [1810-76]
David Sherk [1801-82]
Johannes Bär [1804-94]
Joseph Schneider [1810-80]
Georg R. Schmitt [1809-82]
Moses S. Bauman [1819-98]
Jacob Hallman [1803-78]
Henry Schantz [1804-77]
Enoch Detweiler [1818-74]

12. The 1869 Committee of Five

Either the Elkhart County Mennonites or their ministers must have requested some out-of-state church leaders to come to Indiana and try once more to resolve the difficulties. In any case, two bishops (Meyer from Ontario and Hoffer from Williams County, Ohio), two preachers (Peter Troxel of Wayne County, Ohio, and Georg R. Schmitt of Ontario), and one deacon (Joseph E. Schneider of Ontario) came to Elkhart County and after proper investigation drew up the following two documents (in German). The first was probably addressed to the ministry, and the longer one to the entire church.

Yellow Creek Congregation
July 5, 1869

Since we the undersigned have been requested to help the church out of its difficulty, and have composed a written report about the church, we find that because no definite time was set, in the decision of T. Moyer and J. Hege, for the restoration of Wisler to his bishop oversight, the one party waited for a considerable period. The other party then took the matter in hand and undertook to restore his bishop oversight in a manner not in harmony with the polity of the church (*nicht der Gemeinde-ordnung gemäss*).

We regard this a mistake under the circumstances.

We counsel the other party from their hearts to forgive and to pardon this act of mistake.

The ministry may then restore him with the counsel of the church.

Further, it is our counsel and decision that since Wisler made the above-mentioned mistake he shall openly confess the same before the church, and ask God and the church for forgiveness. He shall also promise the church to proceed more carefully henceforth.

When he has done this, the ministry of the church shall restore him with the counsel of the congregation.

Tilman Meyer [1807-73] Georg R. Schmitt [1809-82]
Isaac Hoffer [1799-1880] Joseph E. Schneider [1810-80]
Peter Troxel [1804-95]

The following is an English translation of the longer report addressed to the church and analyzing the issues in 1869 as the Committee of Five saw them:

Yellow Creek Congregation
July 5, 1869

Since the church in Elkhart County has for years suffered with strife and discord, and thereby erred and lost its simplicity in Christ, because of this brethren from various congregations were on different occasions called together to attempt to rectify the situation, to investigate the issues, to decide matters, and to provide means for the restoration of peace, love, and confidnce. But it appears that thus far this precious peace has not been attained, but on the contrary the church is divided into two parties.

Once again they have requested that brethren come to them to give counsel and assistance in their problems. We have therefore

again come together here from various congregations to make an attempt with God's help and assistance to give counsel and aid.

We the undersigned are unanimously agreed not to hear your matters and charges with fresh witnesses, for we consider that they have been fully investigated in the past. We have been in your midst for five days, we have been with both parties, many of you we have visited, and many of your sad matters we have discussed. Through these conversations with you we have learned that the whole difficulty consists in part in the different viewpoints and opinions regarding public divine services, such as evening meetings, Sunday schools, singing bass or in unison, etc.

Since we recognize from the holy Word of God that no Christian Church can endure without rules and regulations, we are content with those of our forefathers, especially the Eighteen Articles composed in the city of Dordrecht, Holland, in the year 1632, and as we believe and know, as you do also, that house cannot be kept in any other way, and growth cannot be realized, unless we have inner peace with God, and peace among and with each other.

Now, dear Brethren and Sisters, our brotherly counsel is, Follow the will of God (not our will), Lay aside all speaking against each other, Do not cast up another's faults to him, Make no demands on each other, from now on, Provoke one another to love, Pardon and forgive each other, and in this way you can be led together. And when in this manner you have been bound together in the bond of love, which is the bond of perfection, you will be able to move forward with the above-mentioned small points of diffierence without offense.

Nevertheless we admonish the ministry in this congregation that in all points they seek very carefully to walk and to act toward each other, especially in reference to the above-mentioned points, namely to sing bass or in unison in the public worship service, that they may not thereby occasion offense, but may strive through love to win the good confidence of all: to the end that the church may be built up and that God may be praised.

Tilman Meyer [1807-73] Georg R. Schmitt [1809-82]
Isaac Hoffer [1799-1880] Joseph E. Schneider [1810-80]
Peter Troxel [1804-95]

13. Futile Efforts for Reconciliation, 1869

The Committee of Five was evidently unable on July 5, 1869, to get Wisler, Holdeman, and Brenneman to make peace, hence the two reports look forward to the possible future restoration of Bishop Wisler. In his diary for July 5, 1869, Funk recorded that the ministers and deacons met at Daniel Hoover's home and attempted to settle the church difficulties. (Hoover was a brother of Wisler's first wife). Funk reported that they "could not do anything." Another futile attempt was made on July 13. "The contending elements are still too strongly opposed to each other." On August 8, 1869, Funk and John M. Christophel went to the Shaum (Olive) church, and after Funk preached Christophel (who was not a bishop) baptized a class of five. On September 12, 1869, Funk visited Wisler, but

there is no record of the discussion. On September 20, a Christian Wismer of Trappe, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, wrote to Funk reporting on the rumors which had reached him: Wisler was supposed to have said that Funk was the worst one, and Daniel Brenneman was next! Wismer reported that he could not believe the rumors; he also felt that perhaps John Weaver was propagandizing for Wisler. In 1869 the Indiana Conference met at Yellow Creek on October 8. Two days later Funk mentions in his diary that Bishop John M. Brenneman and Bishop Henry Yother of Illinois were in Elkhart County. And on October 13 Funk remarked, "Some prospect of our church difficulty being settled." Indeed, the Elkhart County Mennonite ministers made a strenuous effort to achieve a permanent settlement. Six special meetings were called for this purpose, held alternately at the Daniel Brenneman home and the Wisler home: October 20, 23, 27, 30, November 3 and 6, 1869.

The Elkhart County (west of Goshen) ministry in 1869 consisted of Jacob Wisler (age 61) bishop; Daniel Brenneman (35), Christian Bare (58), John M. Christophel (50), John F. Funk (34), Jacob A. Beutler (36), and John B. Weaver (58), preachers; and Henry B. Brenneman (38), Joseph Holdeman (46), David B. Martin (40), Tobias Ramer (45), and John Troxel (43), deacons. (Bishop R. J. Smith (55), of the Frisian congregation, did not attend these reconciliation meetings in 1869. His relations with the American Mennonites were perfectly cordial, yet he remained somewhat separate in his church life, undoubtedly partly because his people spoke Frisian.) In these meetings Wisler seems to have been supported by Bare, Weaver, and Troxel. Wisler was ready to make peace on condition that all the ministers and deacons on both sides should make a public confession, but he was not willing to desist from his separate meetings. Wisler was also desirous to go back to the way the services were conducted when he came to Indiana in 1848. (That meant German services, no bass singing, no evening meetings, and no Sunday schools.) The year 1869 came to an end with Wisler still holding his separate meetings, and with the church still divided, as from March 2.

On Saturday, January 1, 1870, the counsel of the Yellow Creek congregation (Funk group) was taken in regard to Wisler's standing in the church. The church decided that Wisler would no longer be regarded as a brother in the church unless he sought reconciliation with the church. Sometime during the spring of 1870 Funk apparently wrote to John M. Brenneman about the advisability of doing bishop work in Elkhart County, now that Wisler had his own group. Brenneman wrote a restraining letter in reply. "I could not advise

you," he said, "to do anything toward ordaining church officers, or holding communion, unless you can get a bishop . . . ," and warned him, "Perhaps some are just waiting for you ministers to go beyond your calling, so that they might bring, or have, a possible charge against you."

14. John M. Brenneman Heals the Schism, August 5, 1870

Someone must have counseled with Bishop Abraham Rohrer of Medina County, Ohio, Wisler's mentor, for on Thursday, August 4, 1870, John M. Brenneman of Allen County, Ohio, appeared in the Yellow Creek meetinghouse, which meeting "was according to the wish of Bro. Abraham Rohrer," wrote Funk in his diary. During the forenoon the annual "Harvest Meeting" was held to give thanks to God for His material blessings. In the afternoon and on the next day Bishop Brenneman in his tactful and effective way worked with the Elkhart County ministers to effect peace among them and, as Funk recorded, "finally succeeded in establishing peace and union in the church," after a division of seventeen months. He succeeded in getting Jacob Wisler, John B. Weaver, and Christian Bare to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and that they were sorry for it; they asked for forgiveness, and promised to be more careful in the future. He also persuaded Wisler to concede that he had been justly dealt with by the sixteen leaders in October 1967. Funk continues,

> Upon this, the opposing party composed of Brenneman, Christophel, Funk, and Beutler [Funk wrote Beidler], as ministers, and Martin, Ramer, and H. B. Brenneman, as deacons, also expressed their willingness to accept Wisler and receive him again into the communion of the church at large,—or a counsel of the church should so accept him. A counsel of the church was then taken and Wisler was accepted as a bishop by a vote of 171 against 20, and the twenty were willing to be satisfied if the majority should receive him. It was a happy meeting. Many hearts thrilled with joy and praised God that the church was once more united into one. God grant that this peace may continue and that much good may be done.

Funk makes no mention of deacons Troxel and Holdeman in this reconciliation, or of any acknowledgments which John M. Brenneman may have required of "the opposite party" to Wisler; it is not probable (though it is possible) that after such a sustained controversy no such acknowledgments were required. Unfortunately no diaries or private papers of the Wisler group have been discovered to date. In any case, peace was made. Would it last?

15. Disunity Reappears, 1871

At the Indiana Fall Conference of 1870 Sunday schools were declared permissible in the congregations. Those not supporting

them were not placed under censure, of course, for that would have been too harsh when a new institution was just getting established. Sunday schools were closed over winter in those days. At the counsel meeting in the spring of 1871, which was held shortly before the communion service was to be held, a few Yellow Creek members objected vigorously to reopening the Sunday school. Wisler accepted this complaint and brought it before the church for action, a technical violation of church polity, for Conference had already endorsed the Sunday school. (At least the "opposite party" felt that this was not right.) Wisler was accused of adding his own opinion on this occasion, namely that the Sunday school is unnecessary. In reporting this series of events to Samuel Godshalk (1817-96), a minister in the Deep Run congregation in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Funk added eloquently at this point, "thus opposing Conference, the instructions of the Bishops, and setting aside his own agreement and promise upon which the peace and unity of the church then rested."

The present writer can only lament that Funk and his colleagues were not a little more patient at this point. They were winning the battle for the Sunday school. Why take Wisler so seriously? According to Funk's diary, this "Examination Day" was May 7, 1871. Preacher Jacob A. Beutler was evidently a warm friend of the Sunday school (and perhaps a critic of Wisler), for on Saturday, June 17, 1871, he requested the Holdeman congregation to forbid Wisler to preach at Holdeman until he was able to effect peace in the Yellow Creek congregation. Funk wrote as follows about this: "Bro. Beidler requested with the sanction of his church that Bro. Wisler should not preach there till he had peace at home."

16. The Committee of Six, 1871

Finally it became necessary for the Indiana Conference to call in a fresh committee of six bishops from the outside to once more effect a settlement of the Elkhart County church troubles. These six men were John M. Brenneman (1816-1895) of Allen County, Ohio; Isaac Hoffer (1799-1880) of the now extinct church in Williams County, Ohio; C.D. Beery (1815-1878) of the Pleasant Hill congregation in Branch County, Michigan; George Brenneman (1821-1889) of Putnam County, Ohio; Henry Nice (1822-92) of Whiteside County, Illinois; and John M. Greider (1823-91) of Green County, Ohio. Hoffer and Greider held views somewhat like Wisler's on such issues as the Sunday school. On the other hand, it does not seem right that Daniel Brenneman had two brothers on the Committee of Six. John M. Brenneman was the natural leader of the group, and his name heads the list.

On October 17, 1871, the six bishops drew up their findings, which were duly printed as a broadside. Translated from German into English the document reads as follows:

DECISION CONCERNING A DISAGREEMENT IN THE CHURCH IN ELKHART [COUNTY], INDIANA, MADE BY THE SIX UNDERSIGNED BISHOPS, OCTOBER 17, 1871

Since for some time there has again been unrest in the church in Elkhart [County], Indiana, especially among the ministers and deacons, the undersigned were charged by this year's conference, which met October 13 in Elkhart County, to ascertain the basis and the cause of the unrest. We found the situation as follows.

Last Spring at the counsel meeting in the Yellow Creek meetinghouse, it was reported to us, complaints were brought by a number of members against Sunday schools, which last fall's conference here permitted and recognized as good. Brother Wisler gave recognition to these complaints and brought them before the church, contrary to the counsel and wish of his fellow ministers, and then justified himself in this saying that he would do the same again.

It was also reported to us that he received a man into the congregation without their counsel. Through these and other mistakes, which were attested, we have ascertained that many members have lost confidence in Brother Wisler, and that brotherly love for him has been greatly weakened, because he would not receive counsel nor accept correction from his brethren. And since the council of the church by a majority of 196 votes has charged us to settle the disagreement, after mature deliberation we have come to the conclusion that it is advisable, and also our duty before God, herewith to relieve Brother Wisler of the office of bishop: because a bishop is to be blameless. We will, however, allow him to retain the office of preacher or ordinary minister as long as he remains obedient. Furthermore, if he regains his standing with the brotherhood, he may later be restored to his full office by the consent of the church.

John M. Christophel is asked to acknowledge that he erred in greeting with a kiss one who had been set back from full fellowship by the counsel of the brotherhood.

Daniel Brenneman is asked to request the brotherhood for the exercise of patience wherein he may have offended anyone.

Everything from the past shall now be completely trodden under foot and laid down. And whoever brings up the old matters, or makes accusations about them, shall be disciplined. And whoever resists the above decision and refuses to submit to it, let him know that he disfellowships himself, whoever he may be.

Finally it is our intention by God's help to stand firm and immovable by the above decision.

May God Almighty grant His rich blessing to this troubled church through Jesus Christ. Amen.

J. M. BRENNEMAN
ISAAC HOFFER
C. D. BEERY
GEO. BRENNEMAN
HENRY NICE
JOHN M. GREIDER

NB: The above decision was read publicly in the Yellow Creek meetinghouse on October 17, and the entire ministry submitted to and accepted it.

17. The Final Schism, 1872

Needless to say Wisler was frustrated and hurt. Little by little Wisler let it be known that he was displeased, even though the six bishops had taken careful steps to secure the acceptance of their decisions by the ministry. (They read their report twice and called upon the ordained men to manifest their acceptance of it by rising. "They all arose, every one," wrote Funk to Bishop John Brubaker of Pennsylvania on March 7, 1873.) But this acceptance was certainly more or less secured by duress; Wisler and his supporters, of whom the chief ones were John B. Weaver and Christian Bare, knew that to refuse to submit to the decision of the six bishops would likely mean their unfrocking. Their rising was probably a sign of submission, but not an endorsement of the decision. As time went on, gradually the Wisler party grew more confident, and Wisler ceased greeting the other ministers (Brenneman, Funk, and his friends) with the brotherly kiss. Wisler also began to say that he had done no wrong, that the decision of the six bishops was not right, and that he would not accept it. In the fall of 1871 two "brethren for whom Wisler always had good respect" were sent "by the church" (this probably means by Brenneman, Funk, and his fellow ministers) to see Wisler. They pleaded with him to yield, to be a brother, and to treat all his fellow ministers as brethren. He replied that the decision was unjust, that the six bishops were wrong, and that he would not submit, "for no one could show that he had done any wrong" (Funk's letter of March 7, 1873, to John Brubaker of Clearfield, Pennsylvania). Toward the end of 1871 the ministers met and had a session with Wisler, pleading with him to yield, to "go with the church." But years of criticism and one investigation and "sentence" after the other had caused Wisler to take a rather dim view of the church as a whole and of its leadership. He gave the same negative answers as before.

This was a crucial moment in the history of the church. What should the ministers do? It may be that a schism was inevitable, no matter what they did at this point. Perhaps the cleavage between Wisler, Bare, and Weaver on the one hand, and Brenneman, Funk, Christophel, and Beutler on the other, was so sharp that no one could have held the ministry together. But it would have been worth a try. There could have been special prayer not only by the ministers but by the entire brotherhood. And certainly it would have been desirable to call John M. Brenneman to try to prevent another schism.

Joseph F. Summer of Elkhart, replying to an inquiry from David Sherk, the Ontario preacher, on May 27, 1872, gives this explanation of what happened: "Jacob Wisler refused to labor with D. Brenneman and some others, and . . . the same was announced to the church, since which time Wisler has held meetings between the regularly appointed days of preaching." And Funk explained in his letter to Bishop Brubaker of Clearfield: "The ministers then present decided to read the conclusion of Conference before the church and tell the church what Wisler had said, and they did so. . . . He immediately commenced his own separate meeting." And at the end of Funk's personal copy of the Report of the Six Bishops, 1871, is written in Funk's hand:

> Jacob Wisler, John Weaver, and Christian Baer freely expressed that they would not submit to the above. It was publicly made known on the sixth of January 1872 in meeting at Yellow Creek that they and all their adherents could no longer be considered brethren in the Old Mennonite Church.

18. Who Expelled Wisler?

In none of the accounts of the final schism of 1872 is the name of the minister revealed who made the announcement that Wisler and his supporters were no longer members. Yet there is a tradition among the Wisler Mennonites that on one occasion at Yellow Creek Funk cried out in Pennsylvania German: "Der Wisler and sei Ahang sin zrick." (Wisler and his adherents are set back from church fellowship.) The oral tradition of which this is a part seems to refer to the meeting of March 2, 1869, when preachers John B. Weaver and Christian Bare restored to Funk his right to preach. It is impossible to ascertain the exact words spoken on January 6, 1872. But that date marks the final schism of the Wisler Mennonites from the Mennonites of the present Indiana-Michigan Conference (whom the Wisler Mennonites call the Funk Mennonites). It is almost certain that it was Funk who made the announcement on January 6, 1872. The very vehemence with which he justified the act betrays him. To Samuel Godshalk and the ministers in Eastern Pennsylvania Funk wrote on February 21, 1872, some six weeks after he had made the announcement: "Keep your own church together. . . . Let Indiana do her own work, and do not meddle with her affairs, and the matter will soon settle itself." John F. Funk was a great and good man, head and shoulders above most of his fellow ministers, not only in Elkhart County, but also in the church at large. It was he more than any other person who brought the Mennonite Church out of its long sleep and lethargy, and through the Sunday school brought a revival

which has led to at least a partial recovery of what H. S. Bender has aptly labeled "the Anabaptist vision." But Funk was also strong-willed and somewhat harsh, and he certainly acted imprudently when at the age of thirty-six he read out of the church a bishop of sixty-three, even if he was slow or even stubborn, together with his fellow ministers and followers. It was this strong-willed attitude of Funk which led in 1902 to the suspension of his own bishop office less than ten years after his ordination as bishop.

19. John Brubaker's Activity

It is difficult today to imagine the widespread reverberations which the Wisler schism occasioned all the way to Eastern Pennsylvania. As a whole the official actions of a number of conferences firmly endorsed the 1871 decision of the six bishops; this was probably partly because of the prestige of a number of men on the committee, Bishop John M. Brenneman for example. But it was probably also a testimony to the weight which the name of John F. Funk already carried in the church, for in 1872 *The Herald of Truth* or *Der Herold der Wahrheit,* or both, were highly esteemed monthly visitors in a large number of Mennonite homes. The man who perhaps did the most to stir up trouble was a bishop of the Lancaster Conference, John Brubaker (*ca.*1810-1888) of Clearfield County, Pennsylvania. He had been ordained preacher in 1842 and bishop in 1850, and was of a conservative turn of mind. According to C. B. Brenneman of Elida, Ohio, who was present at the meeting, Brubaker spoke at the Martins meetinghouse in Wayne County, Ohio, on May 18, 1872, and said that at the spring (1872) meeting of the Ohio Conference the decision of the six bishops had been examined and found to be unscriptural and therefore could not stand. Wisler and his supporters, he said, were the Old Mennonite Church and the other party had torn itself away from the Old Mennonite Church; it was not right to allow a majority vote in a congregation to permit Sunday schools, for the majority is always on the broad road.

(To be continued)

PROCEEDINGS OF AMISH MINISTERS CONFERENCES 1826-31

HARVEY J. MILLER*

Introduction

The Amish division of 1693 introduced a cleavage between the followers of Jacob Ammann and the other Mennonites of Swiss Brethren-Anabaptist origin which even today has been only partly healed. The lines were more sharply drawn in the early part of the last century, as is evident from the records of early Amish Ministers' Conferences. Data which has come to light in recent years helps us to better understand the two-directional trends in the Amish fellowship of the past century. One wing developed into organized conferences, with annual meetings after 1862, finally being absorbed in the larger stream of the Mennonite Church. The other wing maintained a more conservative position, becoming what is commonly known as the Old Order Amish. There still remain between the two main streams of Amish history a number of intermediary fellowships which have made their contribution to the total witness of Swiss Brethren followers in America.

The underlying differences revolved in the main around problems of church discipline or related matters. Until about 1847 all the Amish of America, with few exceptions, remained in one general fellowship. Since they were largely congregational in church government, they dealt with their problems on the local level. With the westward migrations, occasional ministers' conferences were held as occasion demanded. Two of the meetings were of special significance in the period prior to the dividing of the streams: the conference of 1809 in Eastern Pennsylvania, when 23 ministers are thought to have been present,[1] and the 1830 meeting in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, attended by 30 to 35 ordained brethren.[2]

The manuscript with which we are dealing takes us into the time of the conference of 1830. After a presentation of the problems that led up to the "big meeting," Bishop Christian Yoder Sr.,[3] of Somerset County, reports on preliminary conferences in 1826 and 1827. For stated reasons the main issue did not come up for discussion. In the first of these two meetings, however, the questions of the ban and the marriage of close relatives were discussed and the proceedings are reported in detail. It remained for the more representa-

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1 H. S. Bender, "Some Early Amish Mennonite Disciplines," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VIII (April 1934) pp. 93-95.

2 John Umble, "Catalog of an Amish Bishop's Library," *ibid.*, XX (July 1946) p. 19.

3 Bishop in the "Glades" congregation near Berlin, Pennsylvania.

tive conference of 1830 to deal with the question which was causing disunity, namely, the receiving of Mennonites and Dunkers into the church without baptism. The attention of this conference as well as the one in Ohio in 1831 was mainly focused on this problem.

After the proceedings of 1826 and 1830, with a note about the unsuccessful meeting of 1827, we read the following:

> And this meeting and assembly was at the same time recorded by an Elder-Preacher [Bishop] of Pennsylvania by the name of Christian Yoder Sr. (*der Alte*)—And by me, Christian Yoder Jr. (jung), accurately and precisely copied and I had it signed by the ministers who were present and who are still here and can testify that it was the truth. Copied and signed in the year 1839.

After a brief biographical note about the senior Bishop Christian Yoder, the next part proceeds with a report of a deputation of bishops from Somerset County, who made a trip to the Ohio churches at the request of ministers serving there, the following spring, 1831. The report of ministers' conference held on that occasion, said to have been reported by a certain bishop in Ohio, then follows. Then follows the second and last copyist's identification; viz., Abner Yoder (Joder), who later moved to Iowa from the "Glades."[4]

The remainder of the manuscript contains brief forms for the administration of baptism and communion, for reinstating members, and for marriage. There is no further mention of copying and since Abner Yoder mentions that his copy was made in 1858, one wonders whether the whole manuscript was copied by him or whether another scribe copied from his original. The same meticulous script runs all through the folio and the lists of names are not autographs.

The present writer's great-great-grandfather, Benedict Miller,[5] and Christian Yoder Sr. were two of the three bishops from Somerset County who were called to Ohio in 1831. They were also closely associated in a meeting of the Somerset County ministry in 1837. In view of this fact, it is quite understandable that a copy of the work of the "Glades" Yoders would find its way into the possession of the descendants of my forefather, Benedict Miller, along with his German Bible and other papers. These are among the papers and books left by my father, the late Jonas B. Miller,[6] Conservative Mennonite (formerly Amish Mennonite) minister, Grantsville, Maryland. These materials are now in the custody of my brother, Ivan J. Miller, bishop of the Conservative Mennonite Church of Grantsville.

4 Three generations of the Yoder family served in the Glades church in the ministry. Abner was the grandson of Christian Sr., and the son of Christian Jr. He was already bishop when he moved to Johnson County, Iowa, in 1866. He died there in 1883.

5 Benedict Miller (1781-1837), ordained minister in 1809 and bishop in 1813.

6 Jonas B. Miller (1870-1952) was formerly editor of the English section of the *Herold der Wahrheit*.

I have purposely endeavored to make the translation of this German manuscript rather literal in order to preserve its original flavor. I hope this work may be of value for the purpose of comparison with other copies of the same materials.[7] To my knowledge there has been no translation made heretofore.

The manuscript here treated is a 32-page folio written on both sides and stitched with plain thread. The pages are yellowed and the black ink is turning brownish. Even though the leaves were unruled, the lines are very straight. The covers and title page are missing, but the body of the composition seems to be complete, for the opening sentences form a natural introduction to what follows. Furthermore, the last page, which forms one folio leaf with the front page, was only two thirds full until some Scripture notations were added by another hand. Unfortunately, the pages are not numbered.

A TRANSLATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT

Now my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, my desire is that the dear God would give into our hearts his Holy and good Spirit that we might but acknowledge and rightly see his Word and ordinance (*Ordnung*), not to deviate from them. May the dear God give us his grace and strength thereto that we could do as the apostle says, As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him. And let yourselves in no wise be affrighted for the dear Saviour says, Take heed lest any man deceive you. For many shall come in my name and shall deceive many.

Therefore all who want to follow Christ are duty bound to attend well to the Lord's Word and ordinances and dare not add to it or take from it.

But since a great unrest and difficulty (*Gegenstand*) have arisen in our times on account of baptism, namely that the so-called Mennonites (Manisten) should be taken in by us without baptism, the way it came about was as follows: A single person came from Germany in about the year 1820, who said he was a Mennonite but he wanted to unite with us. But he did not want to be baptized, for he was already baptized by the Mennonites. But the ministers set themselves against taking him in without baptism because they had no Scriptural ground thereto and said they wanted to abide by the Lord's Word and ordinance and the Apostles' doctrine (*Lehr*).

Then he went away about 200 to 300 miles to Ohio where he was soon taken in without baptism. Then he came back again but they would not accept him as a brother. Here then the great unrest and opposition (*Aufstand*) arose, as was mentioned above.

Then letters were sent on both sides and grounds called for, but that was insufficient for such a weighty matter. There must needs be a meeting held to speak together by word of mouth.

And so I, Christian Yoder, Sr.,[8] was in Ohio twice during this time.

7 Reference was made to the decision of the ministers' conferences of 1826, "an other one," and 1830 by bishop Jacob Schwartzendruber (1800-1868), first Amish bishop in Johnson County, Iowa, in his Epistle to the Amish Conference of 1865. Cf. Harold S. Bender. "An Amish Bishop's Conference of 1865," *MQR*, XX (July 1946) p. 7. Schwartzendruber states that the 1826 record is to be found at Abner Yoder's (who was still in Pennsylvania).

8 In German the original spelling was still in use (Joder).

As they were about to break bread,[9] I was to keep it with them. I said, I was uneasy about it. I feared that I might cause offence toward the ministers who are against each other. On the other hand I said, if I do not keep it with you, then you will say I had refused you the peace. Then they gave me an answer, from which I thought it better to keep it with them; it would rather serve for peace and not for division.

Now the second time, when I came there again, it was the same case, that again they were going to break bread. Then I said, I will let it cause offence this time, for I am under duty to exercise care on the side of others as well as with you.

So it happened then, that a Ministers' Meeting assembled in the year 1826, as was mentioned above. There were about 20 ministers that came together. But there was not much discussion about baptism. The reason is this: because the ministers who had officiated without baptism did not come. So it was arranged that the next spring a meeting should be held in Ohio.

However, two subjects were still discussed, namely, of shunning and of wedlock. Since a liberal spirit manifested itself, which sought to assert that when one of our number is in the ban and is then taken in by the Mennonites or Dunkers, then shunning is lifted on our part.

Now it demands consideration, whether this spirit was a spirit of truth or a planting not planted by the Heavenly Father. Thus there was a discussion of this matter and it was presented thus: If it occurs as the apostle says, If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, with such an one ye shall have no dealings and shall also not eat. I Corinthians 5.

Now it must be regarded that not only natural dealings (*Schaffen*) and eating are forbidden but also the kiss of peace, the Lord's Supper and footwashing, along with everything that belongs to it. Now how can some of the points mentioned be dissolved, namely the natural dealings and eating, whereas the other points, which have to do with the spiritual, remain in effect. Who can call this the true ordinance of God? This we will let all right thinking brethren and sisters judge. But we consider this the true dissolving (*Auflösung*) of shunning as the Apostle teaches in 2 Corinthians on the 2nd chap. where he says, Sufficient to such a man is this punishment inflicted by the church, so that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him, lest he be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. So then, if a person comes to a fall, but he comes again with such a sorrowing spirit and heart, then he should again be comforted, even as the Saviour says: Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Accordingly we trust that his sins are forgiven him of God and are absolved. Then a full minister (*völliger Diener* or bishop) in the church shall again give him the hand, and the kiss of peace, which had been denied him, shall again be given. Then all the points mentioned are to be dissolved, not only one of them.

To this ground for shunning, the brethren and sisters who were present agreed by voice (*Umfrag*).

Concerning wedlock it was acknowledged, that none should marry in closer blood relationship than if on both sides they are one generation farther removed than children of brothers or sisters (*Geschwisterkinder*) or, as one now calls them, grandchildren of brothers or sisters (Geschwisterenkel).

Now mention was made above of a Ministers' Meeting in Ohio.[10] It also took place but it did not further this matter because several of the

9 "Breaking the bread," used for communion.
10 As noted before, a meeting had been planned for the spring of 1827 in Ohio.

elder-ministers[11] were not present; only it was decided that another Ministers' Meeting should be held in the so-called Glades (Gläds), which took place in the year 1830 on the 3rd of October. There were then present between 30 and 35 Ministers and Elders[12] from many congregations. The meeting was then opened with an earnest prayer that the Lord would but lead us the right way and cause His will to be done.

Now then, after this, grounds were called for, how the Saviour's Word and the apostles' doctrine could be understood in support of receiving persons into the church without baptism.

So when we were referred to Acts Chapter 8, verse 5: Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria and preached Christ unto them. And verse 12: And when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. And verses 14 to 17 tell how Peter and John were sent down from Jerusalem and when they were come down, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: for they were only baptized in the name of Christ. Then laid they their hands on them and they received the Holy Ghost.

Now from this account of the apostles, Peter and John, the conclusion was said to follow, that they received members without baptism, too.

Our answer is this: We must indeed consider why Peter and John did thus, namely because baptism had already been administered by their fellow minister Philip, for these three Apostles had received their ministry from the Saviour with others, the one as well as the other, as one can see in Matthew the 10th, verses 1 and 5. And they had also observed the Supper with the Saviour, the one as well as the other; and the Saviour washed their feet, the one as well as the other. There we see that the spiritual unity was given the first place or lead, and witness was borne to it by works of love on the part of the Saviour and his disciples, for our instruction and example. If therefore the ministers in the church of the Lord have kept the Lord's Supper and footwashing with each other, and what belongs to it, and conclude with the kiss of peace, we have reason to hope that then the spiritual unity is also present. If thus one of these ministers administers baptism, none of his fellow-ministers will baptize them again, even as the apostles of the Lord, Philip, Peter and John, have set us the example.

Therefore, the grounds (*Grund*), which were presented to us as mentioned above, are right and good in their proper place, but not for receiving members without baptism as they do.

In the second place, we were pointed to the 21st Article in the Martyr Book[13] where it says, that if one has received baptism once upon the true faith according to the teaching of Christ, it is not permitted to baptize him again.

Our answer is this: Consideration must be given to the intent of the whole article and not a few lines only. For at the beginning of the Article we read how it was commanded to teach and to baptize. And it says, all who have received and accepted (*aufgenommen*) this doctrine, have become disciples and followers of Christ and in the name of the triune God have been baptized with water and united with Christ. And it says further that those doctrines and commands are in no wise to be altered or dis-

11 This use of *Aelteste Diener* is clearly an official title and not simply implying older ministers. The first word is consistently capitalized, which would not be the case if the intent of the expression were simply "older" or "elder."

12 In this case the simple form Elder (*Aeltester*) is used for bishop. *Diener* is consistently used for the minister. This refutes the idea that the Amish never used the term elder.

13 Van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror, English edition* (Scottdale, 1938) p. 97.

regarded through human judgment but they are to be steadfastly lived by and upon evidence of repentance and amendment, such are to be baptized with water once in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, by a minister duly appointed thereto.

Now we must indeed reflect how such a minister is to be ordained and by whom, namely by such as the example of the Apostle shows. Acts the 6th, verse 2: Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them; and the third verse reads: Brethren, look out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom. Now it is plain and clear from these words that a minister, who is to baptize, must be ordained in the church where he is recognized as a disciple or brother, and he must also be in peace with the church and the church with him, breaking the bread with each other and washing feet.

Now we find further in the same Article about the hearing of the divine Word, which man needs for his soul, out of which come forth faith and regeneration followed by baptism also, which Christ adds to faith and regeneration, never to be separated therefrom. And again in the same article we read, therefore no one can be acknowledged by the church as a brother or sister and take part in any Christian ordinances, except he have first received the Christian baptism here mentioned, according to the Word of God and upon their faith.

But if a minister has been thus ordained according to the apostles' doctrine, as was mentioned above, being from among the disciples and brethren and standing in peace with the church, then he does not only baptize, but he also breaks the bread and washes feet with the church and they with him, for they stand in Christian unity with each other as the Apostle teaches. Ephesians in the 4th, verse 6 and 1 Corinthians in the 12th, verse 13 says: For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. If such a minister has been ordained in the church and he baptizes, then we do not baptize them again, as said Article states and as the three Apostles, Philip, Peter and John have set us the example. As was said above, these had also broken the bread with the Saviour, kept the Supper, and he washed their feet. So it is plain that the Article refers to a church, where they all stand in one baptism and communion.

In the third place the matter of an optional choice was presented. They told us that for a long time the practice had been to bear with each other in patience, that is, those who want to accept or receive members without baptism may do so and those who do not want to may refrain. On this point it was insisted and maintained that these men had been such virtuous persons. Well, our answer was this. We want to do that, too, if the Lord's Word and the Apostles' doctrine permit the like. And we cited from the 17th Chapter of John where the Saviour prayer earnestly and said in the 11th verse, Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are. Understand, he says, as we are. And verse 21 says, That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. And in verses 22 and 23, those thou gavest me, that they may be one even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one. Thus the Saviour makes plain by such words, that the Father and the Son are one, and his disciples shall likewise be perfect in one, which the Apostle Paul expressly teaches in I Cor. in the first Chapter, verse 10, where he says, Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind

and in the same judgment. And Romans in the 15th Chapter, verse 5 says, Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be likeminded one toward another according to Christ Jesus: that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Thus it is plainly to be seen from the words of the Saviour and of the Apostle, that the church of the Lord, those baptized by one Spirit into one body, shall likewise be perfect in one mind and one judgment. To such as these the Apostle speaks in Ephesians the 4th Chapter. Endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Understand, of the Spirit. That is like the Saviour says: the words which I speak, they are Spirit and they are life. So we understand that the Ministers and the church must be one in the Word.

Now it is clearly shown by the doctrine of the Saviour and of the apostles, that a minister who baptizes must be at peace with the church, and must be chosen and ordained in the church.

Now the question is, where is the ground in the Holy Scriptures for a Minister or a man to baptize in our church, who has not been chosen and ordained there. Neither do we with him, nor he with us break the bread, nor labor together, nor observe the kiss of peace with each other, nor wash each other's feet.

So then we confess and testify with the Word of God, that the points here mentioned all belong together and must all be administered by the one who administers baptism, not baptism alone, but with all that belongs to it.

So we commend the matter to the good-hearted brethren and sisters, to judge what is nearest to the Lord's Word and ordinance; and we will certainly find and see that the baptism of the Mennonites (Manisten) cannot be recognized among us because the other points mentioned above are not administered by them among us, and neither has their baptism any right or place with us.

In the fourth place, the seven churches in Asia were cited from Revelation in the 2nd and 3rd chapters. They had so fallen that the Lord said, I will spew you out of my mouth; and since there was no mention of baptism in connection with their repentance they must have been received again without baptism.

Our answer is this. That is no ground at all for receiving members without baptism. This is the reason: The Apostles Paul and John were in Asia and ministered to the church there as can be seen. In Acts the 19th chapter, verse 1 Paul came from Ephesus and in verses 9 and 10, that he daily taught in the synagogue and this continued for two years, so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the Word of the Lord Jesus; and verse 26 says that Paul not only taught in Ephesus almost throughout all Asia. And in Acts 20, verse 4 we see that a number of ministers went with him into Asia and came as far as Troas; and in verse 7 that on a Sabbath day the disciples came together to break bread and Paul preached long unto them, continuing until midnight.

Now mention was made above of John, whom the Saviour called his servant in the 1st chapter of Revelation. And he calls himself a brother to the Seven Churches in Asia. And in the Martyr Book[14] it is recorded that this John became free again and came to Ephesus again where he had been before as Bishop over the churches, and ministered there in the gospel 51 years. And he did in peace in Ephesus in Asia when he was 80 years old.

14 Van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror*, p. 97.

Since the Apostle and Bishop taught so long, then he also broke the bread with the churches, there can be no doubt about it; just as we have already mentioned about Paul, that he also broke the bread with the churches.

So then it is clearly proven by the Word, that these Seven Churches in Asia had been baptized by their own Apostle and Bishop, and had also broken the bread with each other. So they did not need to be baptized again if they repented and were converted as they were admonished to do in Revelation the 2nd and 3rd.

When the above mentioned doctrines and Scriptures of the Saviour, the Apostles and the martyrs had all been presented and in a childlike way discussed, then the elder-ministers of Ohio gave themselves to very earnest thought concerning the matter. Consequently they were given time until the next day to consider further. Then they all came together again and conferred again with each other. Finally the elder-ministers of Ohio expressed agreement with this ordinance (*Ordnung*) and presentation and accepted it as right and also confessed freely that they had received more light on the matter than before and they do not wish to make any change in it. They also promised to present said ordinance to their churches and to instruct them therein.

At the same time they presented a request to the Ministers from Pennsylvania that they should come to their assistance if perchance they would not be successful in setting their churches right on this matter, which also was at once promised them by the elder-ministers of the meeting.

Thus then the meeting came to a close with sincere thanksgiving to God with bended knees, and with the hand and kiss of love and peace, they parted, commending each other to God.

And this meeting and assembly was at that same time written up by an elder-minister of Pennsylvania, by the name of Christian Joder, Sr. (der Alte)—And by me, Christian Joder, Jr. (jung), accurately and precisely (*genau und pünktlich*) copied and (I) had it signed by the ministers who were present and who are still here and can testify that it is the majority. Copied and signed in the year 1839.[15]

Jost Joder
Christian Zug
Jacob Zug
Hannes Beiler
Samuel Kinnig
Samuel Kinnig, the little (der Kleine)
Salomon Beiler
Christian Nüssly
Christian Miller
Jacob Eösch
Hannes Stordemwald (Vordemwald)
Abraham (x) Miller

Ministers who were not in the meeting, but who were in agreement with it

Jonas Kaufman and Joel Joder

Thus far to this place the composition which the old housefather, Christian Joder had composed, and by me, Christian Joder, Jr., accurately and precisely copied in the year 1839 on the 1st of February (*Hornung*).

Thus this old housefather himself helped to present these above mentioned doctrines and Scriptures of the Saviour and of the apostles and martyrs, before the meetings and assemblies. He also taught them publicly and held this to be the true doctrine and ordinance of the Lord.

15 The names appear in their German spelling.

And he served in the office of bishop between 50 and 55 years, and he died in the 80th year of his life on the 29th of April, Anno 1838.[16]

Then the next spring, after the big Ministers' Meeting in Pennsylvania, the ministers of Ohio requested the ministers of Pennsylvania, that they should come to their assistance, which also took place; three of the elder-ministers, namely Benedict Miller, Jacob Oesch and Christian Joder, Sr., traveled to them.[17] Again a meeting was called together and the matter was again presented. And this meting was also recorded at once by an elder-minister of Ohio, by the name of Hannes Joder, who also lived over eighty years. It reads as follows:

Wayne County, Ohio. May the 25th, 1831. A meeting of the ministers of the state of Ohio and the state of Pennsylvania in regard to baptism between those of our faith—Amish—and the Mennonites, whether they may be received by us without baptism.

It was clearly shown and recognized on the ground of the Holy Scriptures, how the ministers of the church of the Lord are to be chosen, called, and in the name of the Lord ordained and appointed to all offices and functions (*Diensten und Geschäfften*), and that the functions of the Holy Trinity in the church of the Lord are not fittingly administered by a stranger, who is stained with some spots of unbelief, and that the ministry of baptism is not more fitting than the ministry of the Lord's Supper or the right of the kiss and peace.

Therefore be it recognized that all teachers, who have been chosen and ordained outside of the ordinance of our church, have no ministry of evangelism to perform in our churches. Therefore, the baptism of strangers cannot be counted as complete. Since on the grounds of the Holy Scriptures it is recognized among us that the confession of their faith is incomplete, we therefore do not hold them as complete brethren at the Lord's Supper. For as the Lord's Supper is hallowed by reason of the true and perfect faith, so also is baptism hallowed by reason of the true faith, and therefore the baptism is no better than the faith. Such a baptism cannot, therefore, be recognized as complete.

And so it was decided upon these evidences at the request of (or motion of) the ministers in the State of Ohio, that is of Hannes Miller near Canton, Mose Bitschi, Jacob Miller, David Zug, all full-ministers (völlige Diener)

That if they would be granted the privilege of referring Mennonites to other ministers, who could baptize them without burdening of conscience, in the event that such cases should arise and the minister involved, could not do it with a free conscience (then they would agree). Then the other full-ministers consented to this request and accepted both their request and proffer, namely as follows:

If the freedom would be granted them not to be compelled, in case they should have a burden of conscience about baptizing them, and they may leave it to those who can baptize them without burden of conscience; and since we will not burden their conscience in the matter, they would also refrain from receiving members without baptism and will burden no one else's conscience by insisting on receiving members without baptism.

And upon this mutual promise, this resolution (*Beschluss*) of peace

16 Note that Christian Jr. made the copy and had it signed by a number of the ministers concerned immediately after his father's passing.

17 These three bishops represented the three Somerset County, Pennsylvania, congregations as follows: Benedict Miller, the "River" (Casselman) in the south; Christian Joder, the "Glades," in the central and Jacob Oesch (Eösch), "Conemaugh, in the north, near Johnstown.

was confirmed as a vow before God and a public resolution before the church with thanks to God and closing prayer.

And upon this conclusion of peace, the brethren and sisters called upon the ministers from Pennsylvania not to return home until this conclusion of peace had been confirmed in deed and they had broken bread with them, which they agreed to and did. And afterwards they bade the church farewell and commended all peace-loving brethren and sisters to God.

This we certify, who ourselves were present.[18]

Precisely copied by Abner Joder the 5th June in the year A.D. 1858.

Jacob Eösch (Oesch) Pennsylvania
Christian Joder, Sr.
Hannes Joder Ohio
Hannes Vordemwalt
Christian Kinnig

Baptismal Confession.—Kneeling. (*Bekenntniss der Tauf*) First—Do you believe and confess with the Ethiopian Eunuch that Jesus Christ is the Son of God?—Yes.

Secondly—Do you also believe and hope that you are uniting with the true church of the Lord, and promise God and the church obedience?—Yes.

Thirdly—And you renounce the devil and the world and your own flesh and blood commit yourselves (*zusagen*) to Christ and his church—Yes.

Fourthly—And you also promise to keep the ordinance (*Ordnung*) of the church of the Lord, to observe it, and to help administer (*handhaben*) it according to the Word and doctrine (*Lehr*) of the Lord, and to abide by the accepted truth, to live by it and to die by it with the help of the Lord?—Yes

The Admission—Kneeling (*Die Aufnahme.* Re-instatement.)

Do you acknowledge and confess that you have deserved this punishment and that it has come upon you according to just discipline (*Ordnung*)?—Yes.

Do you also appeal to God and the church for forbearance?—Yes.

Do you also promise that you will henceforth be more careful, by God's help, and walk in his commandments and help to maintain the same and to counsel and work in the church in all things, as you promised in your baptism?—Yes.

In the name of Christ and his church, the hand is extended to you, arise—Hand and kiss. Moses Peachey (Bitschi)

Thanksgiving at Communion (*Danksagung beym Brodbrechen*).

The Apostle says, For the Lord Jesus, the same night in which He was betrayed took bread: and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. In the confidence that He let his holy body be broken on the cross and thereby became the perfect offering of atonement to redeem us from sin and Adam's fall, and that He will also come again to call us to Him as His children and to bring us with Him into his eternal kingdom, if so be we do according to His will; and for this, His great goodness (*Wohltat*); we give Him glory and thanks, praise and honor and everlasting benediction (*Benedeyung*) from us and our posterity forever.

After the same manner also, He took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do, as oft as ye

18 The name of Benedict Miller, one of the three Pennsylvania bishops, is missing from the signatures. There is no indication why. The date 1858 is only the year of copying; the meeting was held in 1831, as is indicated at the beginning of the report.

drink it, in remembrance of me. In the confidence, that our Lord Jesus . . . etc. etc.

Marriage (*Zusammenfügung*).

You have now heard the ordinance of Christian wedlock presented. Are you now willing to enter wedlock together as God in the beginning ordained and commanded?—Yes.

Do you stand in the confidence (*Hoffnung*) that this, our sister is ordained of God to be your wedded wife?—Yes.

Do you stand in the confidence that this, our brother, is ordained of God to be your wedded husband?—Yes

Do you also promise your wedded wife, before the Lord and his church, that you will nevermore depart from her, but will care for her and cherish her, if bodily sickness comes to her, or in any circumstance where a Christian husband is responsible to care for, until the dear God will again separate you from each other?—Yes.

Do you also promise your wedded husband, before the Lord and his church. etc. etc.—Yes.

Clasp the right hands.—So then I may say with Raguel, The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob be with you and help you together and fulfill his blessing abundantly upon you, through Jesus Christ, Amen. (Tobit 7:15 in the German textual arrangement of Luther.)

(*In another handwriting*:) Scriptures for the breaking of bread. Luke 22 chap. to verse. Then I Cor. 10, then the 11th from the 11th verse to end. Then John 6 chap. from 47 verse to end.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED PENNSYLVANIA MENNONITE PETITION OF 1755

GUY F. HERSHBERGER*

When three ships bringing 363 German immigrants arrived in Philadelphia in September 1717, Governor William Keith became alarmed lest this large number of "foreigners . . . strangers to our language and constitutions" might not prove loyal to the governments of Pennsylvania and Great Britain. At the governor's suggestion the provincial council ordered the three captains to submit lists of the names of the Germans whom they had imported and that by a proclamation of the governor the Germans be required to appear before a magistrate "to take such oaths appointed by law as are necessary to give assurances of their being well affected to his Majesty and his government; but because some of these foreigners are said to be Menonists, who cannot for conscience sake take any oaths, that those persons be admitted upon their giving any equivalent assurances in their own way and manner. . . ."[1]

Pursuant to this order the captains of the three ships on September 19, 1717, presented to the council a list of the 363 Palatine immigrants in question.[2] There is no evidence, however, that the governor issued the proposed proclamation requiring an oath of allegiance; and apparently no ship captain submitted such a list of immigrants for another decade.

On September 14, 1727, however, the new governor, Patrick Gordon, informed the council that "a ship with four hundred Palatines, as 'tis said" had arrived and that since a continued immigration of Germans was in prospect, "it would be highly necessary to concert proper measures for the peace and security of the province, which may be endangered by such numbers of strangers daily poured in, who being ignorant of our language and laws, and settling in a body together, make, as it were, a distinct people from his Majesty's subjects."[3]

Once more the council took action, which this time became effective. Ship captains again were required to submit lists of foreign immigrants, who would then be required to "take the oath of allegiance, or some equivalent to it to his Majesty, and promise fidelity to the proprietor and obedience to our established constitution."[4] On September 21, 1727, William Hill, captain, presented to the council

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1 *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (commonly called the *Colonial Records*, and hereafter cited as such, Philadelphia, 1852) 3:29.

2 *Colonial Records*, 3:29.

3 *Ibid.*, 3:282.

4 *Ibid.*, 3:282.

"the names of one hundred and nine Palatines, who with their families, making in all about four hundred persons, were imported into this province in the ship William and Sarah."[5] The foreigners then being summoned, fifty[6] appeared and signed the following Declaration of Allegiance to the governments of Great Britain and Pennsylvania.

"We subscribers, natives and late inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine and places adjacent, having transported ourselves and families into this province of Pennsylvania, a colony subject to the crown of Great Britain, in hopes and expectation of finding a retreat and peaceable settlement therein, do solemnly promise and engage, that we will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his present Majesty King George the Second, and his successors kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the proprietor of this province; and that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all his said Majesty's subjects, and strictly observe and conform to the laws of England and of this province, to the utmost of our power and best of our understanding."[7]

On May 10, 1729, the Pennsylvania assembly passed an act requiring an additional pledge in two parts, commonly known as the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration, in which the signer renounced Papal jurisdiction within the realm and abjured allegiance to the Pretender to the British crown. The text of the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration is as follows:

I AB do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will be true and faithful to King George the Second and do solemnly, sincerely and truly profess, testify and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce as impious and heretical that wicked doctrine and position that princes excommuicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the see of Rome may be deposed or murthered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, preeminence or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within the realm of Great Britain or the dominions thereunto belonging.

I AB do solemnly, sincerely and truly acknowledge, profess, testify and declare that King George the Second is lawful and rightful king of the realm of Great Britain and of all others his dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do believe the person pretending to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James, and since his decease pretending to be and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth or the style and title of King of Great Britain hath not any right or title whatsoever to

5 *Ibid.*, 3:283.

6 Fifty masculine names, apparently of family heads, are listed. This is less than one half of the 109 names said to have been submitted to the Council by the ship captain. A note at the end of the list gives the explanation: "Sundry of these foreigners lying sick on board never came to be qualified." *Colonial Records*, 3:284.

7 *Ibid.*, 3:283.

the crown of the realm of Great Britain, nor any other the dominions thereunto belonging. And I do denounce and refuse any allegiance or obedience to him and do solemnly promise that I will be true and faithful, and bear true allegiance to King George the Second and to him will be faithful against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his person, crown and dignity, and I will do my best endeavors to disclose and make known to King George the Second and his successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be made against him or any of them. And I will be true and faithful to the succession of the crown against him the said James and all other persons whatsoever as the same is and stands settled by an act entitled an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject and settling the succession of the crown to the late Queen Anne and the heirs of her body being Protestants, and as the same by one other act entiled an act for the further limitation of the crown and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject is and stands settled and entailed after the decease of the said late Queen, and for default of issue of the said late Queen, to the late Princess Sophia Electoress and Dutchess Dowager of Hannover and the heirs of her body being Protestants; and all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge, promise and declare according to these express words by me spoken and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgement, renunciation and promise heartily, willingly and truly.[8]

Beginning in 1729 all German immigrants were required to subscribe to both the Declaration of Allegiance and the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration. Among these subscribers were many Mennonites and Amish.[9] Although these pledges were often referred to as naturalization "oaths,"[10] the *Colonial Records* and the *Votes of the Assembly* always speak of them as "declarations." It is true, those who took the pledge "solemnly" promised and declared themselves on points involved in the declaration, but nowhere does the word oath appear in the official titles of the printed declarations; neither does the word "swear" appear anywhere in the document; nor does the expression, "so help me God," usually considered essential to an oath, appear anywhere therein. Furthermore, since the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration was adopted by an act of the Quaker assembly in 1729, it seems reasonable to believe that the authors of the act considered the declaration as satisfying the requirements of an affirmation as opposed to an oath. Even the actions of

8 See R. B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808* (edited by W. J. Hinke, Norristown, 1934) xxvii, 4-6. In the present article capitalization and abbreviations have been edited so as to conform more nearly to modern practice.

9 It is largely from the lists of signers of these declarations of allegiance, fidelity, and abjuration that I. B. Rupp and Strassburger and Hinke compiled their lists of German immigrants, from which C. Henry Smith in turn sifted the Mennonite and Amish names which appear in *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Norristown, 1929).

10 Strassburger and Hinke refer to them as the "oaths of allegiance and abjuration." *Pennsylvania German Pioneers,* 3.

the Governor and Council of September 14, 1727, which prescribed the Declaration of Allegiance had referred to the necessity of taking "the oath and allegiance, *or some equivalent to it,*"[11] thus apparently also recognizing the scruples of many people against taking an oath.

From their legislative history it is obvious that the enactment of of the declarations of allegiance, fidelity, and abjuration were the result of fright on the part of the governor and council, and perhaps even to some extent on the part of the assembly as well. Governor Gordon in 1727 referred to being "endangered by such numbers of strangers daily poured in, who being ignorant of our language and laws, and settling in a body together, make, as it were, a distinct people from his Majesty's subjects." The Declaration of Allegiance prescribed at this time included the following promises:

(1) True allegiance to King George II and his successors; (2) faithfulness to the proprietor; (3) peaceful demeanor toward all the King's subjects; and (4) conformity to the laws of the province.

The first part of the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration is obviously directed against what was considered the Catholic menace. In this pledge the subscriber declared: (1) Abhorrence to the wicked doctrine that princes excommunicated by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects; (2) that no foreign prince, lay or ecclesiastical, can have any authority, spiritual or temporal, within the British realm.

The second part of the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration is directed against the Pretender to the British throne. The subscribers declared: (1) That the Pretender had no right or title to the British crown; (2) personal renunciation and refusal of allegiance or obedience to him; (3) true allegiance to King George II and his successors against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts; (4) a promise to disclose to the King any known conspiracies against him.

If Governor Gordon feared the coming of the German "foreigners" to Pennsylvania, the Amish and Mennonites among the Germans also occasionally feared the naturalization regulations imposed by the government. The fear was based in part on a belief that the naturalization declarations were oaths, and in part on a feeling that they involved political or military obligations which a nonresistant Christian could not assume. Late in 1742 and early 1743, for example, one or more petitions were received by the assembly and council from "a considerable number of German Protestants," including some of the Amish faith, "setting forth, that . . . being, tho' not Quakers, consientiously scrupulous of taking any oath, they can-

11 Italics mine.

not, as the law now stands, be naturalized; and praying that a law may be passed in their favour on that account."[12] The assembly responded to these requests by passing "An act for naturalizing such foreign Protestants as are settled or shall settle in this province, who not being of the people called Quakers, do conscientiously refuse the taking any oath."[13]

The naturalization act of 1742 has generally been regarded as satisfactory from the Mennonite point of view. Indeed C. Henry Smith makes the following statement regarding it: "It appears that neither Mennonites nor Amish from now on had any occasion for further petition for civil exemptions until after the Revolution, after the control of the government had passed out of the hands of the Quakers."[14] This statement may be true with respect to the form of the affirmation. A recently discovered Mennonite petition of May 15, 1755, however, makes it clear that the Mennonites of Pennsylvania were not satisfied with the military implications of the Declaration of Fidelity and Abjuration.

The document in question is located in Volume 3 of the *Penn Letters and Ancient Documents Relating to Pennsylvania and New Jersey,* in the library of the American Philosophical Society. According to the proceedings,[15] this collection of *Penn Letters and Ancient Documents* was donated to the American Philosophical Society by Jos. Parker Norris in 1815. It seems likely, therefore, that the petition of 1755 was received by Isaac Norris, speaker of the assembly at the time, after which it came to repose with papers of the Norris family until it was given to the American Philosophical Society in 1815 as part of a collection of "ancient documents."

The petition, evidently drawn with the aid of legal counsel, appears in the handwriting of a scribe. It is signed, however, by thirteen signers of typical Mennonite names, apparently in their own handwriting. So far as is known there were no consequences following the petition. Since the *Votes of the Assembly* and the *Colonial Records* make no mention of the petition, can it be assumed that the speaker of the assembly simply consigned it to a pigeonhole? Whatever its fate, it is clear that the signers were fearful lest in subscribing to the declarations of allegiance, fidelity, and abjuration some years earlier they had unwittingly committed themselves to military service, which they could not conscientiously do, and which they would

12 *Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series* (*Votes of the Assembly, 1742-43*) 4:2835; *Colonial Records,* 4:628-629; J. F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia. 1887) 2:109; C. H. Smith, *op. cit.,* 279.

13 *Colonial Records,* 4:628-629.

14 Smith, *op. cit.,* 280.

15 Minutes of the June 16, 1815, meeting of the American Philosophical Society.

not have done had they understood the contents of the declarations. The date of the petition is significant. Coming, as it did, just two months before Braddock's defeat, and a year before the French and Indian War began, it is clear that the signers were fearful lest their earlier adherence to the declarations of allegiance, fidelity, and abjuration would endanger their nonresistant position in the ensuing struggle.

The petitioners explain that since they were unacquainted with the English language they did not understand the true nature of the declarations at the time they subscribed to them. For not being more circumspect in this matter they ask God's forgiveness. They then make it clear that they can do the following. (1) Pledge allegiance to King George II; (2) pay taxes; (3) exercise general obedience to the government of the King and of the province; (4) pray for the King and the government. Being nonresistant Christians, however, they cannot defend the King with the sword. Rather than do this they must suffer. Nor can they be reconciled to the general tenor of the declarations which seem to require them to defend the King against all enemies: "We cannot nor dare not, promise this in so extensive a manner." The petitioners are careful to state that their motive is not one of giving aid to the enemy, nor does their petition represent any dissatisfaction with the former proceedings of the assembly. Their sole motive is that of discharging a good conscience. An exact transcription of the petition follows.

The Petition of 1755

To the Honourable the House of Representatives for the Province of Pennsylvania in General Assembly conven'd in Philadelphia May the 15th 1755.

The Humble Petition of the Elders, and Presbyters of the Church which is called the Menunists in and about Lancester and the parts there adjacent.

May it please the Honourable House to permit your Petitioners to lay before you Some of our Grievances we lye under at present: and as it will be impossible to represent the case, without being something tedious, We Humbly pray you would exercise your Patience with respect to it.

It is matter of deep concern to your petitioners when we reflect on the Naturalization Oath, that was administered to us, when we first arrived in this Country; it being exceedingly repugnant to the Articles of our Faith, and our consciences not able to comply with the tenor of it. At the time we were qualified, when Naturalized, none of your Petitioners were acquainted with the English Tongue; and we quickly found, the Translation of the Oath into Dutch, to be very wrong; which was done by some of our own people, who presumed to instruct us into the Nature of it, but was not capable themselves to conceive the meaning of the same by which means, we were Innocently brought into a Difficulty, which has occasion'd to your Petitioners much concern and Perplexity.

Therefore, we confess and acknowledge with Grief of Heart, that by so doing we have Transgressed against the Lord our God, by not more Strictly examining the nature of our Qualification before were Qualified; and that we Omitted the compareing the Translation with the Original in a word by acting so Implicitly.

May it please the Honourable House to permit us to declare, what we are willing to be Qualified unto or rather what we would with the utmost Cheerfullness perform (for the taking of an Oath in any manner is what we are prohibited from in our Articles of Faith) We do with the utmost fidelity acknowledge George upon the British Throne to be our lawful King and Sovereign, we Gladly own him as Such, and accounts our Selves faithfull & Loyal Subjects to his Majesty, being willing and ready to Submit and to be faithfull and obedient to him his Heirs and Successors. This we are willing to evidence by a Cheerfullness to pay the duty, Tax, &c., that the Laws of Great Britain, and this Province requires, and to comply with every other particular relating thereunto wherein our consciences are free and clear.

So far we have Divine Authority for, from the Injunction of Christ and his Apostles, Our Lord desires that we render to Cesar, the things that are Cesar's, and to God, the things are God's. Therefore we conclude that it is our Incumbent duty to render what Tribute, Duty or Tax is required to our King and Sovereign. We are likewise Authorized from the Mosaic dispensation to acknowledge that the Legislative Administration is commited to the care of Kings, who if faithful are to be acknowledged as Servants of God, and as Paul Teacheth such Shall be honoured as a Protector, and as one that beareth not the Sword in vain, who is a Terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. In this manner we are oblidg'd to revere his Majesty, and to endeavor according to our Stations, and agreeable to the dictates of our consciences, to render his administration as little Burthensome as possible, and this we think may be done without going Counter to the express prohibitions recorded in the Sacred Oracles, viz. of Testifying our Loyalty by defending him with Sword in hand. In those Divine Oracles we are injoin'd to Love our Enemies to bless them that curse us, and to pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us. and those who follows these injunctions, are Characterized as Children of the most High. But how to reconcile this Sacred Text with the Tenor of the Naturalization Oath, is to us absolutely impossible, and cannot, without giving our Consciences the greatest violent Attempt to reconcile them. In this Oath, we are bound to help to maintain the Title, and Reign of his Majesty, and to defend him with Heart, Hands and Life, not only against the Pretender, but likewise against all his other Enemies. But we must Humbly reply, that we cannot nor dare not, promise this in so extensive a manner. We are willing as far as we have the divine assistance, to pray for the King, that he may have a long and prosperous Reign, that his life may be one continued Scene of Peace and felicity that he and all his Royal Issue may live continually here under the Divine protection, and hereafter in the full fruition of Immortal Bliss; And more than this we dare not consistant with Peace of Conscience, comply with, it is our fixed principle rather than take up Arms in order to defend our King, our Country, or our Selves, to Suffer all that is dear to us to be rend from us, even Life it Self, and this we Think not out of Contempt to Authority, but that herein we act agreeable to what we think is the mind and Will of our Lord Jesus.

Your Petitioners not being willing to detain you any longer would only just obviate an Objection that perhaps might arise to what has been

said. first some may be ready to Say that the Menunists, now hearing that an invasion is threatned by the French on this Colony, Therefore we would endeavor to Screen our Selves from lending our Assistance against the Invader. But to this we Humbly reply That God Who knoweth our Hearts, and the most Secret design therein knoweth that this is not the cause of this present procedure, but that it is only a Sense of the command of God upon us forbidding us to take up Arms against any, And that it is out of obedience to the Divine precept, and consequently to the discharge of a Good conscience, that excites us to Address the Worthy Members, and would humbly intreat you would not once imagine that we have taken offence at the former Proceedings of the Assembly respecting our People, and the Qualification Administered to us, and taken by us out of Ignorance. No, we assure you we retain in no manner any dislike either to the Governor, or the worthy Members, but with the utmost Sincerity wisheth peace and happiness to you.

Your Petitioners therefore requests that the Honourable House may allow us the Priviledge Granted in William Penn's Charter for this Province, that all the Inhabitants (behaving themselves Honestly), that their Consciences be by no means molested, and the form of the Naturalization Oath with respect to the Menunists may have such Alterations, as they may in their Conscience be free to take, and this to extend not only to those in this Country who are not yet Naturalized, but also to Such who may yet arrive in this Province.

And Lastly, we intreat the Worthy Members, that your Sentiments with regard to this Important Point may be Sent to us at your next Adjournment. We Cannot but encourage our Selves that requests so reasonable, will obtain an Answer which will fill our Hearts with Joy and Gladness and Inviolably oblidge your Petitioners as in Duty bound to pray.

[See the signatures on page 151.]

NOTES ON THE SIGNATORIES

Ira D. Landis**

1 Hans Tschantz (Hanss Schantz) came from Friedelsheim in the Palatinate to the farm where the Tschantz cemetery is located, south of Lampeter in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was ordained a bishop, most probably in Europe. As early as 1743 he was moderator of the Lancaster conference and held that office for some time. He died in October 1776.

2. Aberham Reist has not been identified.

3. Jacob Graft is probably Jacob Groff of Strasburg (d. 1766), a son of Hans Groff by his first marriage.

4. Benjamin Hershey (Benss Hirschi) (1696-1789) immigrated with his father and family in 1717. He was the son of Christian Hirshi (d. 1720) and brother of Andrew and Christian Hershey, all early ministers; he lived "one mile west of Lancaster Town"; was moderator of the Lancaster conference during the Revolutionary War and following; signed the Mennonite-Dunker petition to the Pennsylvania assembly (1775), also the document dismissing Martin Boehm from the ministry. His son Benjamin Hershey succeeded him as bishop.

5. Jac(k)ob Boehm (1693-1780) was a deacon at New Danville and a blacksmith. He and his wife, Barbara Kendig, were the parents of eleven children. His oldest son was Bishop Martin Boehm, cofounder with Otterbein of the United Brethren Church.

6. Hanss Meier has not been identified.

7. Christian Wenger of Groffdale, a minister, was an immigrant of 1727 and died in 1772. He settled west of the Hans Groff tract, the homestead now owned by Noah Wenger, a descendant. He and his wife, Eve Grabiel, had eleven children; the sons Joseph and Henry settled in Rockingham County, Virginia, about 1785. Many of the Groffdale-Ephrata Wengers were descendants of Christian Wenger.

8. Ulrich Rhodes (Ulerich Rott) with his family was exiled from Sumiswald, Emmental, Switzerland, in 1711 and settled west of Lancaster in 1729. He was ordained a deacon before 1730, probably in Germany, and served the Abbeyville congregation. He died in 1763.

9. Charles Christophel (Carli Christofel) (d. 1767) is named as a trustee at New Danville in 1755, and was thus an ordained man.

10. Martin Baer (Mardin Behr) signed the 1725 Confession of Faith and was a minister at Lampeter, now the Mellinger church, until his death in 1758.

** Ira D. Landis, Bareville, Pa., is treasurer of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church.

11. Jost Mosser died in 1761 in East Lampeter, a minister at the present Mellinger church.
12. Benjamin Landis (Benni Landiss) (1697-1781) immigrated with his father, Jacob Landis, in 1717. He is an ancestor of Ira D. Landis, minister in the Landis Valley congregation, and many, but not all, of the Lancaster County Landises.
13. Jacob Martin (Mardi) was a brother of David and Henry Martin of Weaverland and lived there a short time but settled early in the manor (d. 1775). He is called an "elder" in Joseph Stehman's will of 1756.

Hanss Schantz[1]

Aberham Reist[2]

Jacob Graft[3]

Benss Hirschi[4]

Jackob Böhm[5]

Hanss Meier[6]

Christian Wenger[7]

Ulerich Rott[8]

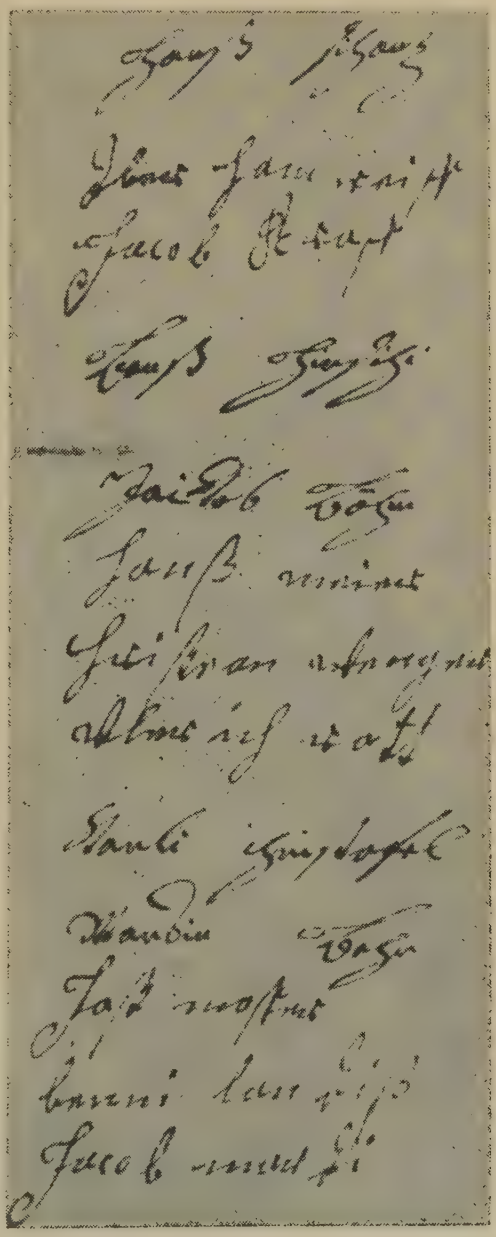
Carli Christofel[9]

Mardin Behr[10]

Jost Mosser[11]

Benni Landiss[12]

Jacob Mardi[13]



RESEARCH NOTES

WHEN A PEOPLE MIGRATE

Footnote to the Mennonite Migration of the 1870's

Since the history of the Mennonites has often been a history of migration, they have found it to their advantage to identify themselves as of the same group and to use facilities more readily available to them as a group. The Prusso-Russian migration of the 1870's illustrates very well the advantages accruing to a group which can establish its identity and command confidence in its integrity. Through the assistance of American Mennonites and the use of resources carefully gathered and husbanded on two continents, the movement of these people was effected so efficiently that often entire congregations could maintain their identity and within a few years of the resettlement in America the economic losses seemed negligible.

Much of the credit for this achievement must certainly be given to the Mennonite Board of Guardians and the Mennonite Executive Aid Committee. Tirelessly these committees, including a similar committee in Canada, worked to facilitate every stage of the migration, securing concessions from steamship and railway lines, meeting and guiding immigrants along the route of the migration, and aiding the newcomers with financial help and invaluable practical advice.

It was obvious to the founders of the Board of Guardians (Christian Krehbiel, David Goerz, John F. Funk, and Bernhard Warkentin) that the benefits which their committee would be able to extend to their fellow-Mennonites would be sought by non-Mennonites. This entailed several problems. The resources of the Board were limited and agreements made with steamship and rail lines specified only Mennonites to be favored by lower rates and special services. It was necessary, accordingly, to inform the Mennonites in Russia and Prussia of the specific details of the arrangements made in their favor and to make provisions so that Mennonites only could take advantage of these privileges.

This problem was met by issuing three successive circulars to be distributed among the Mennonites in Europe. The first of these circulars, issued December 10, 1873, announces the intention of the American Mennonites to assist the migration with free gifts and financial loans. Those who needed financial aid would be able to secure it through proper contact with the agent of the Board in Hamburg, from where the aid of the Board would become effective. But how would this agent identify the Mennonites? A system of certification was proposed to eliminate any who would pose as Mennonites. These certificates, endorsed by the elders of the churches and certified with the church seal, were to be presented by the Mennonites at Hamburg in lieu of the purchase of a steamship ticket. This was particularly designed for those who could not afford the passage money. The agent at Hamburg endorsed the certificates, and at New York these certificates were accepted and the amount of passage fare deducted from the fund on deposit by the Board of Guardians.

The certification procedure was also extended to those Mennonites who did not need assistance. The circular specifies, however, that "in order that they may be enabled to purchase, with their own money, tickets to New York, at the reduced rates, they must be supplied with different certificates in Hamburg so as to be able to identify themselves as Mennonites."[1]

1 *Herald of Truth*, XI (February 1874).

The second circular of the Board of January 2, 1874, further amplifies the arrangements to finance the migration, while in the third circular[2] several Mennonite leaders, known to be involved in the migration movement, are appointed as direct agents of the Board to the endorsements of the certificates and provide information as to the number of Mennonites needing certificates, particularly of those not able to pay for their passage.

The pains which the Board of Guardians took to restrict its aid to those who could identify themselves as Mennonites both in Hamburg and at New York may seem to go beyond reasonable business security. However, the Mennonite Executive Aid Committee of Pennsylvania in its first circular, dated April 16, 1874,[3] also provided for documents which would authorize transportation assignment for those unable to pay, security of the congregation for sums advanced to individuals, and certification of those able to pay their own passage. These documents were to be signed by the elders and teachers of the various churches and bear the seal of the respective congregations.

The post-Civil War immigration tide was assuming staggering proportions. In practically every country in Europe minority groups as well as others were restless and looking for opportunities to migrate.

That the concern of the American boards dealing with the Mennonite migration was justified is shown by several letters in the Board of Guardians Collection. Non-Mennonites in Russia and Prussia, especially the former, were as apprehensive as the Mennonites in the face of the Russianization policies scheduled to take effect soon. Germans, Catholic and Lutheran, as well as Jews, had lived as neighbors to the Mennonites and were well aware of the Mennonite plans to migrate. While the circulars had not mentioned transportation rates (this being classified information entrusted only to the Mennonite elders), non-Mennonites knew of the advantageous position of the Mennonites who operated in a framework of mutual co-operation with brethren overseas. In the spring of 1874 a non-Mennonite addressed this letter of inquiry to the Board:

Popocokow, April 19 (May 1) 1874

Honored Sir:

The Mennonites of Russia have received circulars published by you in which the kind assistance of their brethren in the faith is offered for their migration to America. In addition to these Mennonites, and sometimes living in their immediate vicinity as does the writer of this letter, are German settlers who settled here from Germany some 100 years ago and while here were freed of all military duties, but who now find some of their freedoms revoked and, in consequence, wish to go to America. Not knowing the conditions abroad, no decision had yet been arrived at. Then your letter arrived which the brethren here freely shared with us. Since you indicated two addresses for certain private correspondence, we cherished the hope that, while we are not your brethren in the faith, we are still German and as such you will not deny the request we express in the following. The Germans here would like, before they leave the comparatively comfortable circumstances here, to have some information as to what they might expect in America and if those who migrate will also be able to pay for the venture, and if such is possible what may await him whose total possessions may be thus consumed. Could we thus request you, worthy friend, if you would be so good

2 *Der mennonitische Friedensbote,* XVIII (April 1874).
3 In Board of Guardians Collection, Bethel College Historical Library.

as to provide the undersigned with answers to the following according to your information.

For how long will the immigrants to America be free from military service? What prospect do the German farmers here in various circumstances have to acquire land? Are land costs comparatively low, etc., and what hope will those without means, the day laborers and others, have to reward their industry? With what obligations will the settler be burdened? Could you possibly inform us about the circumstances of a particular location in your area or recommend a location for settlement? And, what is most important, could you give us more detailed information as to the individual costs of the journey from Hamburg to New York and from there to your destination? Such costs through Germany to Hamburg may not be familiar to you.

Information concerning the above circumstances would be of great value to us, and you would place us under obligation of gratitude by sharing such information and any other pertinent facts concerning the difficulties of migration to a strange land. With every anticipation that our rquests may find a friendly response, your respectful unknown correspondent.

In Hamburg a Jewish youth of some means and considerable training had, through contact with Heinrich Schuett, the agent of the Inman Line and the Board of Guardians, learned of the Mennonite migration. Addressing the "Honorable Mennonite Board of Guardians" July 3, 1874 he writes:

Permit the undersigned agronomist temporarily in Hamburg, who has completed the middle agricultural school in Charkow as well as the advanced agricultural and forestry academy at Moscow, of which schools he has references translated in German; later also held a leasehold estate in the Charkow Government to request herewith if he, a member of the Jewish confession, might settle with you in the States, rather however in the western or southern states of North America, to live in the midst of your congregations, secure land and together with fellow members of your faith, occupy the same.

The undersigned can, through his theoretical and practical basic knowledge of agriculture make himself useful, can also process various types of cheese, and in any case will never be a burden to the congregation in whose midst he lives as he brings along a cash estate of 3800 roubles.

The undersigned feels it is necessary to add that he himself is not in a position to till land; it would have to be done by hired laborers secured for that purpose. Since the undersigned will remain in Hamburg only until he is honored with an answer from you he requests that, if not inconvenient, he be informed as to what difficulty, whether the confession or his incapability of tilling the soil, may stand in the way of the association desired and remains, respectfully, your obedient servant.

From the German colonies along the Volga a certain Heinrich Brug wrote to David Goerz July 5, 1874, and posed a number of questions such as:

(1) Can the poor immigrant flatter his hope that he may secure land without payment in advance and under what conditions could payments be arranged? (2) Is it possible to secure grants of land in

the United States in the area of the present settlements of Canada and Kansas from the respective governments for settlement in return for an annual assessment, and, if so, what would the rate be? (3) Can the poor immigrant expect to be able to borrow money from governmental or private sources to establish himself and at what rate of interest? (4) With whom should a person establish contact in securing land to avoid falling prey to private speculators? (5) What about the climate for Europeans, water, etc.? (6) Are all immigrants, as soon as they are independent and have secured full citizenship, liable for military service, or how can he remain freed of this liability? (7) What are conditions relative to the schools and which language is required in business and legal matters? (8) What in the agricultural life and particularly in trade in general as found there would appeal to the simple farmer as having advantages over that found in Russia?

Questions such as these were important and many had been considered by the Mennonites through the twelve delegates who had visited America in 1873 and even earlier through correspondence such as Cornelius Jansen carried on with Christian Krehbiel, John F. Funk, and others. In concluding his letter Brug says that it was "sheer accident that I learned of your address."

It can be assume dthat none of these inquirers accompanied the Mennonites to America. The American committees aiding the migration were confronted with staggering tasks. They may have shared information but would scarcely have encouraged others to violate agreements made in good faith. Nor do these three letters reveal the religious motivation that undergirded the Mennonite movement to the new world. These letters do show that many neighbors of the Mennonites cherished the Mennonite "umbrella" and placed great faith in the Mennonite procedures and accepted the word of Mennonites as wholly trustworthy.

Bethel College JOHN F. SCHMIDT

The Way of the Cross in Human Relations. By Guy F. Hershberger. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1958. Pp. 424 plus xiii. Index. $5.50.

In 1944 appeared a book, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance,* which was a landmark in Mennonite literature and thought. Fourteen years later this same author, Dr. Guy Hershberger, has produced another volume, which again is a landmark in Christian ethics and which reveals that the author is continuing to explore the frontiers of moral concern. Both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the Christian faith are revealed in the well-chosen title, *The Way of the Cross in Human Relations.*

The introduction to this volume approaches perfection in the art of writing introductions. Dr. Hershberger pierces to the marrow of the issue in his first words: "When Jesus commissioned the disciples to live the good life in an evil world, He gave them a task which He frankly informed them would not be easy. Even as Jesus went to the cross, so must the disciple take up his cross and follow the Master." Whereas some students of Christian ethics take "the complex social order with its ambiguities" as their frame of reference, Dr. Hershberger assumes "the divine imperative as the beginning point, and the redemptive work of Christ as the frame of reference."

The author makes no claim that this volume is the last word or the definitive statement on Christian ethics. It is a progress report—a most complete and provocative progress report. Dr. Hershberger explains the function this book can serve: "Therefore if this treatment can serve to stimulate Christians to think deeply, to search their own hearts, and to create a vision for ethical renewal in the economic sphere, it will have fulfilled its intended mission, however far some details may have missed the mark." It is doubtful whether any sincere Christian can read this book without many experiences of divine disquietude and flashes of renewed commitment to the way of the cross.

There is a logical progression to the twenty-four chapters of this volume. Dr. Hershberger surveys, first, "the foundations" which have to do with the divine order and the way of the cross. He proceeds to an examination of the ethical postulates and concepts inherent in the *Corpus Christianum,* medieval and Protestant variety, and in latter day efforts which identify the kingdom of God and the social order. An admirable feature of the volume is the series of studies of representative Protestant movements: the social gospel movement, neo-orthodoxy, and fundamentalism. Particularly helpful is the penetrating, and at once sympathetic, survey of fundamentalism. Missing is a thorough analysis of Roman Catholic social thought. The ethical insights of Anabaptism, treated in a five chapter survey, offer a bridgehead for the major thrust of the entire study—an exploration of the new way of the cross in concrete problems of economic life and social relationship. Here is where the divine order encounters human dirorder. In the final chapter, "The Kingdom of Our Lord," the author brings the entire study into the perspective of Christian eschatology.

I found Dr. Hershberger at his best in the first two chapters—"The Divine Order" and "The Way of the Cross"—and in the final chapter dealing with theological consummation. The orientation throughout is Biblical. There is the winsome spirit of spiritual seeking. There is the earnest striving to be self-objective. Many passages are deeply moving in their appeal. This work, therefore, has the quality at many points of high

devotional literature. I found uniquely rewarding the section, "The Christian Community: The Colony of Heaven."

Dr. Hershberger has given us the first systematic study of Christian ethics by a Mennonite author and from the Mennonite frame of reference. The frequency of reference to Anabaptist history, to Mennonite experience, to Mennonite concerns is at once a strength and a weakness of this book. It is a strength because here is a Mennonite who is speaking to Mennonites in their condition. He is helping them to break out of their cultural enclaves to give a fresh, new, radically Christian witness. The Mennonite orientation of the book is a weakness because many a non-Mennonite will feel as an outsider listening to a conversation of an in-group.

The non-Mennonite may feel this distance particularly in those sections relating to applied ethics. Some of the conclusions regarding the labor movement, professional organizations, or big business may seem a bit too pat, too certain, too satisfied. In this terribly complex industrial society I would draw back from accepting the suggestion that "right to work" legislation is uniquely congenial to the way of the cross in industrial relations. We must face the fact that we Mennonites have been primarily a self-employed people, a rural people. Some of the social and economic issues studied in this volume have been on the margins of our collective experience. One interposes, therefore, the caution that before we generalize too eagerly about such a knotty issue as union membership or collective bargaining we must acquire a wealth of understanding of the mind of labor and of management. Here is where a keen awareness of "the complex social order with its ambiguities" can keep in check a too complacent moralizing.

One of the great chapters Dr. Hershberger has written is the one on the way of the cross in personal relations. If the unique spiritual perils of the Mennonites are legalism, pharisaism, authoritarianism, provincialism—the author has some devastating observations to make on these issues which can give all of us pause. Here the author writes as one who really knows whereof he speaks. I would have welcomed an attempt at analyzing the Mennonite "organization man"—the administrator in church enterprises who hires and fires, who must weigh the needs of the individual against the needs of the group, who never can escape a consciousness that his church related institution has a tremendous stake in buildings, traditions, well-cultivated public relations, endowments, tranquil constituency relations. How free is a Mennonite organization man to abandon himself to the way of the cross?

This volume gives evidence that the author has been reading his Bible and the daily newspaper—thus seeking both the divine viewpoint and a contemporary relatedness. The volume also has the merit that the author has invited to these pages the major prophets of our day: Reinhold Niebuhr, Emil Brunner, Kenneth Boulding, Carl F. H. Henry, and scores of others. Dr. Hershberger is to be commended for introducing this lively encounter with the great minds.

This volume is a great work of love and scholarship—a fitting sequel to Dr. Hershberger's earlier study, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance.* The easiest response which one can give to Dr. Hershberger's study is a verbal one. The essential response—and not an easy one—is to follow in the way of the cross.

Bluffton College ROBERT KREIDER

Die niederländisch-niederdeutschen Hintergründe der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen im 16., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. By Benjamin Heinrich Unruh. Karlsruhe-Rüppurr, 1955. Pp. 432 plus vi.

This outstanding and stately volume by Prof. B. H. Unruh deals with the Mennonite migrations to Prussia and Russia. The first part (pp. 1-181 and the notes on pp. 392-404) is dedicated to the question of the origin of the Mennonites of Prussia, part of whom moved to South Russia at the end of the 18th century. Even a cursory look at the material in these pages convinces one of the great learning and unabated study of the author, who not only thoroughly examined the German sources, but also noted a large number of Dutch books and articles concerning this subject. Continuing and to a certain degree completing the works by Szper, Schumacher, Horst Penner, and others, the author tries to solve definitively the problem of the origin and background of the Prussian Mennonites. His conclusion is that the immigrants of the 16th and 17th centuries, with a few exceptions of certain South German, Swiss, and Moravian immigrants, came from the Netherlands, and particularly from what he calls "Dreierfriesland," i.e., the present Dutch provinces of Friesland and Groningen and (especially) the German province of East Friesland. He grants that a number of Anabaptist-Mennonites from other Dutch provinces and from Flanders in Belgium may have moved at first to "Dreierfriesland" and emigrated from there to Prussia. He holds that for a large part the immigrants traveled from Emden by sea to the Danzig area. In general, I believe that the author is right in this thesis, although after reading the book numerous questions as to his conclusions remain with me.

Notwithstanding the abundance of historical material the first part of the book does not satisfy, and I must make a few observations.

(*a*) There are a large number of errors and a certain carelessness, which detracts considerably from the quality of the book. At times when the author quotes from Dutch authors such as Blaupot ten Cate and Kühler, his Dutch quotations swarm with errors in spelling. Names are misspelled; a few examples: Tilemann Braght (p. 21) shiuld be Tieleman Jans van Braght; C. S. Geuns (p. 21), C. S. van Geuns; Gerhard van Assenfeld (p. 27), Gerard van Assendelft; Van Hujsen (p. 33), van Huyzen; Blesdeijk (p. 86), Blesdijk; etc. Other errors: Gorcum (p. 61) is not situated in the province of Friesland, but in South Holland; Leonhard (Leenaert) Bouwens was not a native of Friesland, but of Sommelsdijk in the Dutch province of South Holland; Hendrik Berents Hulshoff (p. 70) did not live in the vicinity of Groningen, but near Borne in the province of Overijssel; Emperor Maximilian did not invest Albrecht of Saxony with East Friesland (p. 10) but (West) Friesland, etc. In some points the author did not use the latest publications. Thus his opinion of Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Flanders is antiquated. Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Flanders did not originate at a rather late moment, and the first martyrs in Flanders were not of 1538 (p. 21); the studies by van der Zijpp and particularly A. L. E. Verheyden, which apparently are unknown to Unruh, have proved that Anabaptism is found in Flanders much earlier. Unruh claims (*passim*, particularly pp. 26, 27, 30, 32) that there were Anabaptists (*Täufer*) in the Netherlands before Melchior Hofmann. But this is incorrect, as may be seen from modern historians such as Kühler, Vos, Mellink, van der Zijpp, and others. The author still holds to the antiquated opinions of S. Blaupot ten Cate, de Hoop Scheffer, Knappert, and Glasz. The errors cited seem to relate only to details, but the whole

of Unruh's conclusions are somewhat weakened by these erroneous opinions.

(*b*) One has a right to expect that a scholarly work like this should be clear in composition and construction, but it is not so throughout. It is somewhat confused and at times even unreadable. The author feels the need of adding a *Gebrauchsanweisung* (directions for use) on page 431. He repeats the same things two or three times, even with the very same words. This detracts from the value and the usefulness of his book. Often too it goes into too much detail; e.g., the information about Dordrecht (pp. 30-31, moreover wrong), that on Nijmegen (p. 43), and particularly the large insert about the Sleutel family (pp. 48-51) have scarcely anything to do with the subject.

(*c*) As has been said before, the main thesis of the author is that the early Mennonites who migrated to Prussia came from Friesland. This may be true, but the argumentation has not fully convinced me. To a large extent the author supports his theory with the evidence of family names. This material, however, is less adequate than Unruh supposes. He concludes too quickly from the material at hand. For instance, he is of the opinion that the bearers of the names found both in Prussia and Friesland or North Holland must have emigrated from these territories, and does not take into account that the same names were also common in other Dutch provinces such as Gelderland or Limburg, both among Anabaptists-Mennonites and non-Mennonites. It must also not be forgotten that with few exceptions there were no family names in the Netherlands and East Friesland in the 16th century and in the early 17th century. By his overestimating the value of family names for historical conclusions, Unruh falls into the errors and overhasty conclusions of Schumacher and other apostles of "Sippenkunde," and makes connections and co-ordinations that are highly questionable.

(*d*) The author is right in his clear opinion concerning the "Holländerdörfer" in Prussia (villages, inhabited by Dutchmen), insofar as the designation "Holländerdorf" means a qualification of a special method of organization and renting, and does not require the deduction, which has often been made, that such a village was always founded or occupied by people coming from Holland (Netherlands).

Rotterdam N. VAN DER ZIJPP

The second part of Unruh's book is entitled "Teil II. Anhang. Die Listen der mennonitischen Russlandwanderer 1787-1895 hergestellt bis 1944 von den Beauftragten der AMS (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Mennonitische Sippenkunde) und 1945 bis 1953, weitgehend korrigiert und erweiters von Prof. Dr. h.c. Benjamin H. Unruh." It covers pages 183-432.

In a preface the author reviews how this part came into being. After World War I the Mennonites created a Research Fellowship for Mennonite Family History (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für mennonitische Sippenkunde* —AMS), which was primarily concerned with the study of the families of Prussian Mennonite background. Some of the scholars besides B. H. Unruh were Franz Harder, Horst Quiring, Gustav Reimer Sr. and Jr., and Karl Stumpp. Unruh prepared the first part of the total book. The second part was to consist of an introduction to the lists of Mennonites who had moved from Prussia to Russia, and a third part was to contain these lists. Most of this research was completed during the war. The publication of the material, however, was delayed. New material was discovered and made use of during the decade 1944-1954. The major por-

tion of Part II of the book consists of lists of Mennonites who moved from Prussia to Russia and of the inhabitants of villages of the two major settlements of the Ukraine, Chortitza, and Molotschna.

In an introduction to the lists of the Mennonite migration to Russia, Unruh summarizes the research done in the light of the German migration to Russia in general and the Mennonite migration in particular. He presents briefly the background and reasons for this migration. The Prussian Mennonites did not have enough land, partly because of restrictions by the government on account of their religious beliefs.

In the chapter "A. Die Auswanderungen der Mennoniten-Bauern bis 1806 einschliesslich" Unruh presents the most detailed account on the families, their background, the number of people, and other data involved in the establishment of the Chortitza and Molotschna settlements. He investigates the findings, lists, and figures presented by scholars before him and throws new light on the subject by making use of recent discoveries in the archives of Prussia and Russia. One of the new sources was a list of Chortitza settlers discovered in the state archives of Elbung (p. 213). Through Karl Stumpp the author also obtained a list of the Chortitza settlers of 1818. These and other findings enabled the author to come to new conclusions. Steadily the number of known Mennonite migrants to Russia has increased. A table presented by Unruh shows this increase as indicated by the figures given by the following scholars: according to P. Braun's findings in 1930, the total number of families was 1,742; according to Adolf Ehrt in 1932, it was 1,689; according to Horst Quiring in 1938, it was 1,907; according to Unruh-Harder in 1941, it was 2,300. On the same page the author gives the primary sources and writings dealing with this subject.

Under "a. Quellengruppe 1795" the author presents two sources (p. 235). One is referred to as "EL 1795," which contains the list of the Chortitza settlers of 1795 in alphabetical order. This list is based on *Revisionslisten für das Jahr 1795 . . .*, referred to as "Rev. 1795," which contains a list of the Chortitza settlers of 1789 as of 1795. These two lists are nearly identical. The author obtained them recently through Karl Stumpp. Only "Rev. 1795" is reprinted in its entirety.

Under "b. Quellengruppe 1802" Unruh presents lists of farms (*Feuerstellen*) of the various Chortitza villages. The same thing is more or less the case under "Quellengruppe c & d." for the years 1808 and 1814, where the farmers are listed giving age, occupation, marital status, property, etc. On page 286 a summary of the sources is given and on pages 287 ff. the author makes use of "EL 1795" by relating additional information which this list contains above the others. On pages 304 ff. lists of the Molotschna Mennonites are presented as of 1808 ff.

The second part of Unruh's book as well as the first contains extensive source references in footnotes. However, it is regrettable that the author did not identify the sources of his lists of settlers beginning on page 305. It must be assumed that most of them were obtained during the German occupation of the Ukraine (1941-1943). In general the author could have been a little more explicit in his references to the sources, how they were obtained, and where they are located at this time.

The index of the book is most valuable. First of all, it is an alphabetical list of all places from which the Mennonites came in Prussia, followed by a list of places to which they went in Russia. The third index consists of names referred to in the book. The index is very helpful in tracing a family to the pioneer days in Russia or Prussia. In conclusion a page is devoted to stating how the book can be used.

In general, the value of the second part of the book lies primarily in its great accumulation of facts pertaining to Mennonite families and individuals who moved from Prussia to Russia—the greatest thus far published. It contains much information about the occupational and economic background of the early settlers in Russia. There is no question but that this part will more and more become a "must" for scholars seeking information regarding the various phases of the Mennonite settlements in the Ukraine. Decades of painstaking scholarly work have gone into the production and the presentation of these lists. It is true that because of the very nature of such a work, and to some extent also because additional information was discovered in the final preparation of the book, and because some material had to be omitted if the book was to be published at all, the material at times lacks a clear outline and is not entirely free of repetition. In spite of some of these shortcomings, we can be grateful to the author, who not only spent so much time to collect, assemble, and prepare this information, but also published the findings at his own expense (with a subsidy), since much of the source material pertaining to Prussia and Russia is no longer accessible to scholars in the West.

Bethel College CORNELIUS KRAHN

Group Dynamics in Evangelism. By Paul M. Miller. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1958. Pp. 202, $3.50.

Somewhere in my reading concerning the function of evangelism in our changing world, the writer said, "What we need is not a new evangel but a new evangelism." To many of us who have pastored or labored in Mennonite missions, it has become evident that "preaching evangelism" (revivals, mass crusades, etc.) has lost much of its past effectiveness as a chief method for a local church. Through our deeper encounter with the Biblical, historical, and theological meaning of evangelism, and through our experimentation in cities like Chicago, we have come to see that there are other ways to win people to Christ than by formal preaching, ways which can be studied under the broad heading of visitation evangelism, fellowship evangelism, teaching evangelism, and service evangelism. The goal in every approach is the same: the confrontation of men with Jesus Christ so that they may accept him as Saviour and follow him as Lord in the fellowship of the church. But the setting in which the "acceptance" is made varies in each case. The assumption in visitation evangelism is that the decision for Christ is made by a person in his own setting—home, office, club. The immediate goal in fellowship evangelism is to first relate the person to an existing group in the church, assuming that in the context of the "radiantly friendly fellowship" of the Christian group he will make his decision for Christ. In its *National Christian Teaching Mission,* the National Council of Churches has developed an elaborate fellowship evangelism program. It has chosen fellowship evangelism over other approaches in part because the basic assumption of visitation evangelism (decision apart from the church defined as the place where the Word of God is properly preached and the sacraments properly administered) is offensive to some member denominations, and also because many church members find it easier to go out and invite people to church than to ask them to accept Christ. Until Paul M. Miller wrote his book, the only volume to my knowledge focusing on the theory and methodology of this approach was that by Harry C. Munro, *Fellowship Evangelism Through Church Groups,* which was an adaptation of the National Christian

Teaching Mission, containing the typical "vestibule" definition of fellowship evangelism ("these groups constitute a sort of 'vestibule' into the larger life of the church"—Munro, p. 80) and the typical assumption that fellowship evangelism is good because it is easier than visitation evangelism ("Since this is not visitation evangelism, but simply a systematic method of inviting the unchurched to attend some church group, the recruitment of teams should not be especially difficult."—p. 86). The book by Munro is helpful, but its usefulness is enhanced considerably by the availability now of the work of Paul M. Miller.

Miller's book begins with a chapter entitled "What is Group Dynamics?" which defines it as "the influences persons bring to bear upon one another when they interact in a group" (18). In the more formal sense, it is the scientific study of those influences (31). Chapter Two entitled "Experiments in Group Dynamics," is something of a sampling of the group dynamics movement as related to group work, group therapy, business groups, recreation groups, and Christian study groups. The conclusion to the chapter is that the insights of group dynamics must be harnessed for the work of evangelism also (32). Chapter Three, entitled "The Dynamics of the Group and Evangelism," lists the various characteristic personal motivations underlying the formation of a group. The first section, Why man tends to unite with a group, leads to the conclusion that "The church group which is attempting to win men to Jesus Christ by first winning them into the group should thoughtfully weigh the various reasons man tends to unite with a group, and seek to appeal to these basic tendencies in man as they invite him to join them" (43). The second section, Why man may avoid uniting with a group, leads to the conclusion, "If the Christian group expects to win men to Jesus Christ by offering them a taste of Christian fellowship, then the group will be intensely concerned to overcome and counteract man's tendencies to avoid joining a group" (50). The chapter ends with a brief statement concerning the types of groups, such as primary and secondary groups, spontaneous and guided groups, without the usual concluding section (which would have been helpful) as to how these types relate to effective evangelism. Chapters Four and Six are excellent summaries of the dynamics of leadership in the group (how persons become leaders and how they lead), and Chapter Five deals with "objectives" as an important affective element of any group. Chapter Seven entitled "What Happens in Group Decision-Making," discusses another important facet of the dynamics of any group—that of participant roles which emerge in the process of arriving at decision. Chapter Eight is a very helpful analysis of the subject, "Why Groups Disrupt." Chapters Nine and Ten, "The Unique Dynamics of a Christian Group" and "Preparing a Congregation for Fellowship Evangelism," are really what this book is all about, and it would have been well if we could have had some of this material earlier in the study as a proper perspective for some of the more "sociological" chapters. It is in Chapter Nine that Miller's concept of the Christian group (church) surpasses that of Munro. Both writers affirm that the small group within the church is just as essentially the church as the assembly of the entire congregation, but Munro describes the small group in terms of particular, specialized functions which the church en masse cannot do, or rather implies that the small group is not legitimately the church in those functions which uniquely belong to the church en masse. Miller suggests that the small Christian group is the church in every sense in which the whole congregation is the church (147). This idea is developed with reference to Biblical terms for the church, such as *ekklesia, kuriakos,* and *koinonia.*

Miller makes much of the idea of transparent honesty as a characteristic dynamic of the participant relationships of a Christian group—"Deep interpersonal relationships cannot stand deceit, sham, and intrigue" (135). "Man must be honest if he is to continue in fellowship with God" (137). "The degree to which man can meet man, with complete openness of face, is the test of real spiritual maturity" (145). At the same time, Miller recognizes that "If one member is suffering from pride, or a repressed tendency toward exhibitionism, he may abuse the transparent honesty situation by a morbid display of his own sins" (155). The ability by the illumination and power of the Holy Spirit to recognize and deal with such ambivalences in motivation is itself a characteristic of the Christian group. In short, it is the "God-man encounter" through Jesus Christ which makes the Christian group different from any other mere human group, and gives to fellowship evangelism a strange power to seek and save those who are lost (136, 171).

In regard to the book as a whole, which I understand was originally his Th.M. dissertation at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary under Professor Gaines S. Dobbins, who wrote the introduction, Paul Miller has performed a creative piece of work, achieving a new synthesis of secondary materials in the sociological study of groups and the theology and methodology of evangelism. Some of the values of his work which I have noted are the following:

(1) The quality of evangelism is only as good as the quality of the group (church) which evangelizes. "No convert is ever really won until he has found acceptance and a feeling of belonging, until he says 'we' in describing some fellowship group of the church" (179). I could document this from my own pastorate in Chicago.

(2) No amount of zeal or persuasiveness in evangelism can substitute for a winsomeness of fellowship that can "draw unsaved persons" (169) by virtue of itself. This is evangelism by contagion, or to use a phrase which Milled did not use, "The Gospel is caught before it is taught." Miller captures this insight in such sentences as "Unsaved persons will look on wistfully as Christian group members enjoy the searching, helping, healing experiences of deep interpersonal relationships" (172), and "But many have never been told that the mere presence of Christ among His own has a magnetic pull upon an unsaved person coming into that group" (175).

(3) While the church is more than any mere human group, it is not less; and so far as it is the church at all, it has the same functional components as any other group, and as such is susceptible to sociological study. Those, like Paul Miller, who have been studying in the field of group dynamics have helped us to see that within any group are forces which vitally influence a person's choice of values, growth, and behavior. The church of today will be better able to be the church by knowing more about these forces and how they operate.

(4) I appreciated some indication that Miller recognized the conflict between groupism and individualism which characterizes our American culture. He says that "Too-rugged individualism hinders group life" (19) but that "However intimate and close an individual Christian may become with other Christians in a group, he must never give up entirely the solitary personalness of his relationship to God" (141). We need depth study of both individual dynamics and group dynamics as a means of correcting excesses in either direction. Miller has opened the window for a view of the power of the group for evangelism in our time without turn-

ing the group participants into "organization men" or turning group dynamics into a kind of human engineering.

(5) A similar value is the attempt to deal with the paradox of Christian group dynamics as at once *magnetic* discipleship and *martyr* discipleship (169-174, 182). It is difficult to understand how "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," but we can recognize it as historical fact in our own Mennonite rootage in the Anabaptist movement as well as elsewhere. Just what relevance this has to the current existential Mennonite church needs further exploration. I take it Miller was writing for Christendom as a whole and not expressly for Mennonites in particular. (I found the term "Mennonite" only in two footnotes.)

(6) The author brings to the service of his findings a sparkling vocabulary, which adds a particular enjoyment to the reading of his book. There are many examples, but several phrases which I jotted down are the following: "Patterns of action may harden into ruts. The only difference between a rut and a grave is in the dimensions" (55). "It requires courage and tact to preside at the funeral for a group organization when its time has come to die" (130). "After all, it is hard to convince a person that one wants him in heaven, if one does not want him in one's living room!" (177)

The book is not without "faults and shortcomings," as Miller acknowledges in his preface. So I shall assume what I interpret to be my "role" as book reviewer for the *MQR,* and point out some, trusting that in so doing I shall not be far from the "searching experience" (144) which Miller feels is essential to the true Christian group.

(1) Miller distinguishes sociology by its content rather than by its method (21) and thereby makes an error all too common to people who are confused as to the relation of sociology to religion. As a corrective to the first sentence of the last paragraph on page 21 and the top line on page 153, I would insist that sociologists do not "stress" anything that is not susceptible to scientific investigation, and researchers as researchers do not "recommend" any group procedure over another . It is in this very self-imposed limitation that the sociologist and his studies have value for religion, for it is a detached scientific approach which can serve the Christian church both in error-reduction in the light of its own standards and in facilitation of the reception of truth by revelation; thus, we should not expect to find a Christian sociology as such, but only a sociology of religion.

(2) I struggled in my reading of the book to know just what Miller meant by the terms so common to the group dynamicists, terms such as leader, role, status. We were made to read through Chapter Four, "How Persons Become Leaders" to the beginning of Chapter Six, "Techniques in Group Leadership" before we were offered a definition of leadership. Moreover, I doubt whether the definition given, which was "a series of functions necessary to the productive operation of a group . . . performable by any member of the group who is competent to the task" (73) is really the definition that underlies much of the discussion in Chapter Four. Perhaps a distinction between formal and informal leadership would have been helpful. The implied definition of "role" on page 91 as a "false front" is inadequate, for roles in the more truly sociological sense as that which is expected of individuals in given situations are defined by the group and not by the individual; and this aspect of role I failed to find anywhere.

(3) One is not sure until the final two chapters just what the relation of group dynamics to evangelism is, although to be sure Miller tacks on a

concluding paragraph to preceding chapters concerning the relevance for evangelism of the various "dynamics" as they are singled out. In other words, I think the plan for the book could have been improved by some rearrangement of material in keeping with the objective as stated in the preface. For instance, if Chapter Nine could have come first, and the point made as I sought to do above that a sociological study of group dynamics can be helpful to us as we seek to fulfil our commission in evangelism, I feel the more purely "sociological" aspects of the book would be more palatable to readers who for reasons of their fear of new ideas, or fear of self-disclosure, or more specialized orientation of another field, may bring to their reading of the book a prejudice concerning the idea of "group dynamics" *per se*. Then, too, there may have been less need for the publisher to advertise this excellent book in *Mennonite Weekly Review* with the statement, "You may not immediately understand all that he says but you will be wiser for reading this book," a comment that is bound to scare many would-be readers away.

(4) Finally, I refer to the way Miller has handled an intrinsic paradox in all of our evangelism: It is at once a transcendently divine, and a very human, activity. God is always above our evangelisms, and yet men are always involved in delivering the evangel with their methods and tactics which are often so very human and earthly. Both facets of this paradox are treated in separate parts of Miller's book, and no doubt some will feel that Miller went overboard in stressing the human aspects of "groupness" as an evangelistic method. I, on the other hand, felt a weakness in the practical application of the theory of fellowship evangelism which he spells out. For instance, the illustration of the man in the Indiana mission congregation (176-177) is very effective in the context of the point that is being made, but the very practical question occurred to me (if it doesn't to others)—Did the man accept Christ? If so, what were the steps in his decision subsequent to his experience in the men's group? In other words, how de we achieve the specific purpose of decision for Christ when we have achieved the step of bringing the unsaved into our fellowship? Miller could have strengthened this aspect of his work by including some case studies of fellowship groups which have achieved genuine evangelistic fruits—such as the program of "family evangelism" at the York Center Church of the Brethren, or "Disciples Identified" discussed in Eugenia Price's book, *The Burden Is Light* (207 ff.). Or perhaps Miller himself has a backlog of experiences in fellowship evangelism which could have given us more light on the "individual dynamics" of a genuine faith response through the fellowship, rather than his evasive statement on the next to the last page, "No book or rules can or should be provided" (186). As a matter of fact, the ending of the book left me cold, dealing as it does with co-operation among church groups following the failure of one to win an unsaved person, and coming as it does after such effective description in Chapter Nine of the power of a group to introduce men to Christ.

Having verbalized these four criticisms, I hasten to affirm once more that I consider this book a valuable addition to our evangelism bibliography and hope that it can be the object of wide reading and much study in Christian groups everywhere.

Mennonite Biblical Seminary LELAND HARDER.

European Origins of the Brethren, A Source Book on the Beginnings of the Church of the Brethren in the Early Eighteenth Century. A Two-Hundred-Fiftieth Anniversary Volume. Compiled and Translated by Donald F. Durnbaugh. The Brethren Press: Elgin, Illinois, 1958. Pp. 463. $4.75.

This source book is the fruit of the first thorough scholarly investigation of the roots and the beginnings of the church of the Brethren in Europe, including the emigration to Pennsylvania. It presents a rich harvest of that research in a period covering approximately a quarter of a century, essentially 1706-1736, printing documents "from somewhat more than one hundred public and private archives, libraries and collections in six countries." It is based on and strongly aided by the prior research of two German scholars, Heinz Renkewitz (on the radical Pietist leader Hochmann von Hohenau) and the late Friedrich Nieper (on the emigration from Crefeld and the Lower Rhine to Germantown, Pennsylvania), who in turn profited greatly from the important work by Max Goebel, Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälisch *Evangelischen Kirche* (3 vv, 1849-51).

The nature of the book as a source book can best be understood through a quotation by the editor, who describes his own work as follows:

> The overriding aim in this compilation has been to let the documents speak for themselves as far as possible. An attempt has been made to organize them in such a way that they tell the story of the Brethren beginnings. The scarcity of material in certain sections has made an integrated narrative impossible. As will be seen, editorial comment has been kept to a minimum, and, in sections I to VI, has been printed in smaller type, so that more space could be given to the documents themselves (about one fourth of those collected). The source of each document printed is given in notes at the end of the volume, where is also to be found brief bibliographical information.

A major contribution of the editor, besides the introductions and notes to the separate documents, is an eighteen-page general introduction which skilfully gives the setting and conditions out of which the Brethren movement came, with particular emphasis on Pietism and Gottfried Arnold as an essential factor in the background.

Of special interest to Mennonites are the connections of the early Brethren (Dompelaars) with the Mennonites in the Palatinate and Crefeld and at Surhuisterveen, Dutch province of Groningen, although only two brief documents bear on this connection: (1) a part of a sermon by Jan Crous (p. 205f.), a Mennonite preacher of Crefeld in 1716 defending aspersion as a mode of baptism against immersion, and (2) two Dunker marriage entries in the Crefeld Mennonite church book in 1717. A welcome item is the editor's correction of S. B. ten Cate's error (in his *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland)* in identifying as Swiss Mennonites the little Dunker community living at Surhuisterveen in 1721-1724. (This requires a correction in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* article "Immersion," which reports a Swiss Mennonite group at Surhuisterveen as practicing immersion.—*ME* III, 15.)

Of more importance are the seventeen documents relating to the release of a number of Swiss Mennonites and one Dunker (Christian Liebe) from service as galley slaves (pp. 217-240). These documents from 1714 to 1716 include a number of extracts from the Bern Council Minutes, and a series of letters from and to Cornelis Beets and Peter Apostool in Holland and Gossen Goyen in Crefeld. Also of interest are two short

articles from the periodical *Geistliche Fama* (*ca* 1730) comparing Brethren and Mennonites (pp. 299-300). There are a number of other incidental references to Mennonites or Anabaptists.

This is an outstanding source publication, well edited, with archival locations given as well as listings of publications. The general introduction and the brief introductions to the separate documents are good. The documents presented are a representative and typical collection and give a reliable picture of what actually happened in Europe when Brethrenism began. The translation is good. Objection should be raised, however, to the translation "Baptists" for "Täufer." It is a literal translation but confusing. It would be better to say Anabaptists or Mennonites.

We congratulate the editor and his wife on an important task well done, and look forward eagerly to the anticipated companion narrative volume.

Goshen College Biblical Seminary HAROLD S. BENDER

La Réformation en Belgique au XVIme Siecle. By Robert Collinet. Librairie des Eclaireurs Unionistes, Brussels IV, 1958. Pp. 158 plus colored map and pp. 16 of plates. Belgian Frs. 90; paperback Frs. 75.

Jules Lambotte, whose full-time employment is as pastor-evangelist of the Mennonite Church in Brussels, maintains at the same time an active religious publishing business in the name of the Protestant Boy Scout movement.

Collinet's book found wide acceptance in its first edition as a textbook for Protestant religion classes in public secondary schools. The second edition, considerably improved in both content and format, represents an excellent beginning for Lambotte's projected series of books on the "History of Protestantism in Belgium and the Belgian Congo."

The major change involved in the new edition is the addition of two chapters. One deals with the emigration of Belgian Protestants in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (involving the introduction of metallurgy to Sweden and the founding of New York City); the other with Anabaptism. This chapter deserves notice, for the effort to give Anabaptism a fair treatment in a standard textbook is new for European Proestantism. The rediscovery of Anabaptism is now beginning to move from the historian's study to the schoolroom.

Collinet's new chapter on Anabaptism (pp. 33-34) is based upon secondary sources, which are not abundant for Belgium. He distinguishes clearly between the Münsterite and the pacific forms of "Anabaptism" and gives the latter the predominant emphasis. A two-page summary of Swiss Brethren origins prior to the introduction of Menno into the narrative might even be understood as overemphasizing the ties of Flemish Anabaptism to the Swiss beginnings. The final portion of the chapter is a list of martyrs classified by cities—a rather unusual type of material for a textbook, but not inappropriate for giving secondary school students a grasp of Anabaptism's spiritual vitality.

Goshen College Biblical Seminary JOHN H. YODER

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